AMERICA GOES TO SEA—AND TO WAR?

THE WORLD TOMORROW

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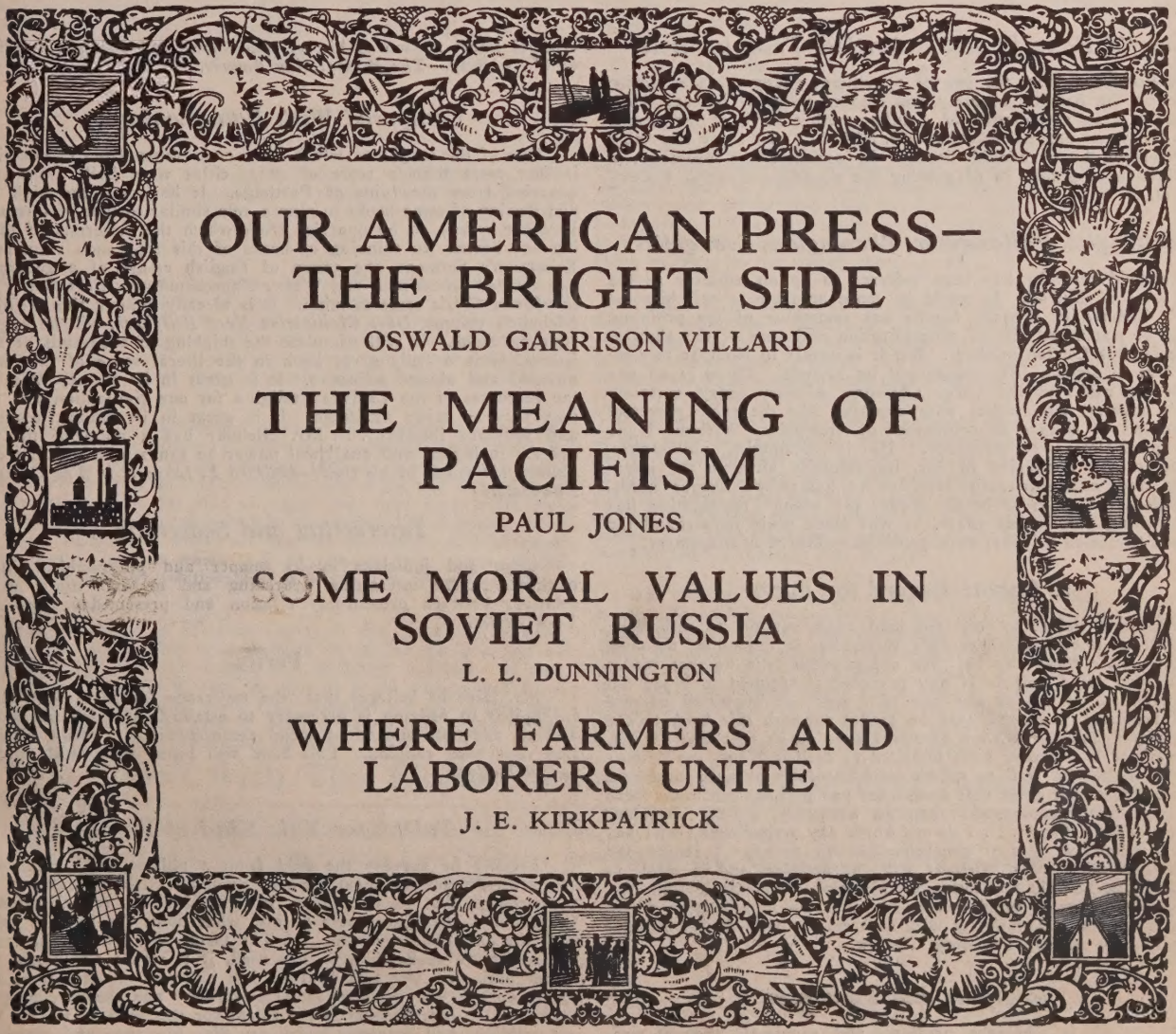

OUR AMERICAN PRESS—THE BRIGHT SIDE
OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

THE MEANING OF PACIFISM
PAUL JONES

SOME MORAL VALUES IN SOVIET RUSSIA
L. L. DUNNINGTON

WHERE FARMERS AND LABORERS UNITE
J. E. KIRKPATRICK

THE WORLD TOMORROW, INC.
52 VANDERBILT AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y.

Chosen by the Religious Book Club

Does Civilization Need Religion?

by REINHOLD NIEBUHR

"Here indeed is a prophet's voice."

Nine Illuminating Chapters

1. The State of Religion in Modern Society
2. Nature and Civilization as Foes of Personality
3. The Social Resources of Religion
4. The Social Conservatism of Modern Religion
5. Religion and Life: Conflict and Compromise
6. Social Complexity and Ethical Impotence
7. Transcending and Transforming the World
8. A Philosophical Basis for an Ethical Religion
9. Conclusion

Candid Honesty and Relentless Thoroughness

The first book from the pen of a brilliant young minister whose articles in the Atlantic Monthly and leading religious journals have aroused a keen anticipation of a fuller setting forth of the results of his fresh and original thinking. Mr. Niebuhr's new study is notably characterized by a candid honesty in examing the problems, a relentless thoroughness in diagnosing the situation—*Federal Council Bulletin.*

Sociologist, Philosopher, Theologian, Evangelist

Reinhold Niebuhr has been referred to by an admirer as the Dean Inge of Detroit. It would be more accurate to call him the W. E. Orchard of Detroit, for he has something of the profound weight of statement, gift of generalization and love of the abstract of the famous London minister. But it is unfair to Niebuhr to compare him to anyone. He stands out by himself. There is no one within the ranks of the active Christian ministry today, certainly in this country, who writes with anything like the same powerful background of culture or originality of viewpoint. Niebuhr is no mere pamphleteer or crusader. He is sociologist, philosopher, theologian and evangelist in one, intellectually alive to the issues of the time and spiritually sensitive to humanity's deeper needs. If he does not prove to be the leader for whom Protestantism has been waiting these many years, he will make plain beforehand the message that such a leader must proclaim.—*Church Management.*

A Decent Regard for Facts

The book before us will not lend much support to reformers, righteous in intention, whose only furnishing is intentions, no matter how noble they may be. An old proverb tells us that mettle is bad in a blind horse. If any preacher is tempted to blaze out with prophetic wrath on any one of a score of important current social problems, I suggest that he glance through this book to see if he cannot find his position discussed here on its fact side. Or if, for example, a preacher feels impelled to deliver eulogy on democracy, he would do well to reflect on a carefully phrased statement of Niebuhr's to the effect that democracy has perhaps put more force into imperialistic movements than an autocracy, strictly speaking, ever could have done. . . . I do not know any writer today who has a more admirable gift of generalization—or perhaps I should say of summarization. Mr. Niebuhr will characterize, and it seems to me justly, a historic movement or a social complexity within the compass of a few hundred words, and that too in a fashion which indicates first-hand familiarity with concrete factors.—*Bishop Francis J. McConnell, in The Christian Century.*

Epigrams and Paradoxes

This book is scholarly, brilliant, and supremely thought provoking. It abounds in epigrams, paradoxes, cultural novelties, and original interpretation of history, philosophy and religion, especially of Christianity.—*The Presbyterian Banner.*

Compared With Rauschenbusch

One of the traditions which have come down from classic times is that more than a score of great cities were built from stone quarried from the ruins of Carthage. It has been the high fate and destiny of some books to play a role similar to that of Carthage. In other words, to be quarries from which the materials of thinking are hewn. In thinking of books of this type such volumes as Robertson's Sermons, the group of English essays of a generation ago entitled *Lux Mundi* and Walter Rauschenbusch's *Christianity and the Social Crisis* come to mind. It is already evident that Reinhold Niebuhr's volume, *Does Civilization Need Religion?*, will be a great "quarry" book. It will stimulate the thinking of thousands of ministers. It is a truly great book in the literal sense of that much misused and abused adjective. It is great in its theme, What are the resources of the Christian religion for our civilization and how may they be made available. It is great in its ethical, economic and religious insights. . . . Mr. Niebuhr has a mind of the first order. In logical and analytical power he ranks with the first class philosophic minds of his time.—*Halford E. Luccock, in The Christian Advocate.*

Interesting and Searching

Calm and judicious in its temper and philosophical in its method. . . . An interesting, searching and unusual study of the relations between present-day religion and present-day life.—*New York Times.*

Verily

Mr. Niebuhr believes that "the reverence for personality which is implicit in religion is necessary to establish an adequate motive and an adequate method of social reconstruction." Verily, civilization does need religion. This book will repay thoughtful reading. —*The Outlook.*

Talent for This Kind of Work

Because he surveys the field from a philosophical background and with the philosophical method, Reinhold Niebuhr makes a distinct contribution to the forces working for the revitalization of Christianity, when he shows at just what point the issue is joined with the battalions of death. . . . The theme Mr. Niebuhr has taken requires more space than he has used, if it would adequately represent him. . . . The task that he has outlined requires some synthetic work in the fields of social psychology and the psychology of religion. . . . Mr. Niebuhr has a talent for this kind of work. Will our religious and economic machinery give him time and space and means to do it?—*Harry F. Ward, in The World Tomorrow.*

Chosen by the Religious Book Club

DOES CIVILIZATION NEED RELIGION?

by REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Excerpts from this unusual book:

Religion is dying in modern civilization not only because it has not yet been able to restate its affirmations so that they will be consistent with scientific fact, but also because it has not been able to make its ethical and social resources available for the solution of the moral problems of modern civilization. Its rejuvenation therefore waits upon a reorientation of its ethical traditions as well as of its theological conceptions. *p. 220.*

* * *

All human groups tend to be more predatory than the individuals which compose them. The most tender emotions may characterize the relations of members of a family to each other; but the family as such is easily tempted to gain its advantages at the expense of other families. *p. 129.*

* * *

Since modern industrialism and capitalism have materially complicated the ancient feuds between races and classes, it is evident that no amount of moral and spiritual goodwill can produce an ordered and stable international society if the economic roots of war are not clearly discerned and finally eliminated. *p. 145.*

* * *

The religious sanction of material gain was a new thing in history and undoubtedly helped to fashion the moral temper of modern society in which diligence is the great virtue and greed the besetting vice. It is the puritan heritage of America which gives a clew to the paradox of our national life. It explains how we can be at the same time the most religious and the most materialistic of all modern nations. *p. 103.*

* * *

Modern religion is, in short, not sufficiently modern. In it eighteenth-century sentimentality and nineteenth-century individualism are still claiming victory over the ethical and religious prejudices of the Middle Ages. Meanwhile life has moved on and the practical needs of modern society demand an ethic which is not individualistic and a religion which is not unqualifiedly optimistic. *p. 207.*

* * *

Religion intensifies selfishness when it adds sanctity to a respectable selfish life and creates a self-respect which is impervious to emotions of contrition. If the religious ideal is to gain any potency in modern life it must be able to convict men of sin and inspire them to a conversion. But the sins of which they need most to be convicted are those which are covert in the social and economic relations which custom has hallowed; and the conversion of life which is most needed is that which will express itself in terms of the economic and political relationships in which men live. *p. 232.*

* * *

Moral leadership in Western society is derived today between sentimentalists and cynics who combine to render the prospect of an ethical regeneration of modern life well-nigh hopeless. If men are really to be redeemed from the sins of greed and mutual fears and hatreds by which they make their common life intolerable they need a faith which is not held so cheaply, but which is held nevertheless in defiance of every discouragement. *p. 162.*

An ethical idealism unsupported by religion is almost as certain to issue in final despair as in unjustified pride. *p. 56.*

* * *

The worship of a holy God saves the soul from taking premature satisfaction in its partial achievement. It subjects every moral value to comparison with a more perfect moral ideal. *p. 51.*

* * *

The contribution of religion to the task of an ethical reconstruction of society is its reverence for human personality and its aid in creating the type of personality which deserves reverence. *p. 62.*

* * *

Only a sublime assumption will persuade men to embark upon the adventure of brotherhood, and only a robust and constantly replenished faith will inure them against inevitable disappointments. The religious interpretation of the world is essentially an insistence that the ideal is real and that the real can be understood only in the light of the ideal. *p. 45.*

* * *

To develop the wisdom of serpents while they retain the guilelessness of doves is the task which faces the religio-moral forces if they would aid in the moral regeneration of society. *p. 163.*

* * *

If the quest for ethical freedom and integrity does not lead to religious experience and religious hope, it will issue in despair. If the assurances of religious hope and the certainties of religious experience are not accompanied by sincere moral effort, they result in hypocrisy. The hope of an ethical society is therefore bound up in the possibility of restoring ethical integrity to religion and religious dynamic to the moral effort. *p. 242.*

* * *

Francis of Assisi was surely more like the real Jesus than Bruce Barton's modernized caricature of the original. The strategy of Jesus might be described as a leaning in the direction of asceticism, as a hovering upon its brink. He is saved from its morbid temper by the wholesome common sense which leavens all his attitudes. *p. 89.*

* * *

An asceticism which flees the world and develops its saints at the price of abandoning industrial civilization even more completely to the natural and anarchic forces which operate in its life is obviously of no use to modern civilization. Yet a type of asceticism is needed, if for no other reason, because greed is the dominant motive of Western civilization and nothing less than an ascetic discipline will free religious idealism from its entanglement with the covetousness of modern life. *p. 225.*

* * *

The God of our devotion is veritably revealed most adequately in the most perfect personality we know, as he is potentially revealed in all personal values; and his conflict with the inertia of the concrete and historical world is expressed most vividly in the cross of Christ. When dealing with life's ultimates, symbolism is indispensable, and a symbolism which has a basis in historic incident is most effective. The ideal of a potent but yet suffering divine ideal which is defeated by the world but gains its victory in the defeat must remain basic in any morally creative world view. *p. 237.*

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The World Tomorrow

Vol. XI April, 1928 No. 4

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In May

Super Power and the Campaign, *by Harry Laidler*

Pacifism and the Use of Force, *by Reinhold Niebuhr*

Recent Gains in Industrial Relations, *by Mary Van Kleeck*

Do Foreigners Get Justice in the United States? *by Amy Blanche Greene*

How Long Should a Peace Society Live? *by Devere Allen*

Order Is Restored in Hunan, *by Anna Louise Strong*

The Poster Road to Peace, *by Elizabeth Jewett Easton*

How It Feels to Be Colored, *by Zora Neale Hurston*

Editorials, Not in the Headlines, Book Reviews, Clippings and *Findings* are regular sections of each issue.

Also—

A Striking Interview with Senator Borah on Multilateral Treaties Outlawing War, *by Kirby Page*

The World Tomorrow

A Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Religion of Jesus

Vol. XI. April, 1928 No. 4

Editorials

Preventable Misery

Locking the barn door after the quadruped has departed is an ancient outdoor sport. Many an enjoyable evening may be spent also in explaining why the defective roof is never fixed. Frantic efforts are made in times of severe industrial depression to relieve the miseries of the unemployed after it is too late for the adoption of adequate measures. Numerous alibis are offered by way of explanation as to how we got caught in the dilemma. When the sun of prosperity is shining, there is little need to worry about the roof. When the rains of the slack season are pouring down, it is dangerous to venture on the slippery shingles.

Four million workers in the United States are now walking the streets looking in vain for jobs. For years economists have known this would happen sooner or later. Yet few precautionary measures were adopted. Blinded by unprecedented prosperity, industry has almost completely ignored the problem of unemployment. Eleven years ago the distinguished members of the New York City Mayor's Committee on Unemployment formulated a comprehensive program of prevention and relief. This valuable document was carefully filed and promptly forgotten. The report of the President's committee met the same fate.

Much of the misery occasioned by unemployment could be prevented by a carefully planned system of expansion of public works in slack seasons. Such a program would include the erection of public structures, road building, street paving, development of water power, afforestation, and other public improvements. It is estimated that for every person thus employed, three other individuals are provided with work in manufacturing and transporting the materials required by those projects.

This problem cannot be adequately solved, however, except by the inauguration of an extensive scheme of unemployment insurance. Such a plan is now in successful operation in several European countries, notably in Germany.

Nowhere is the ruthlessness and cruelty of modern industry more clearly revealed than in the matter of unemployment. With only a few hours' notice multitudes of workers are thrown out in the street. Enforced unemployment is one of the most demoralizing experiences that can befall any human being. In the case of a married man with a dependent wife and children, the resultant misery is frequently beyond description. Adequate reserves are provided by many concerns to take care of dividends during slack periods. Some corporations lay aside similar resources for unemployment benefits, but not many do this. Employers and investors frequently live in luxury from dividends while the workers who helped produce these dividends endure hunger and want. A society with a keener ethical consciousness would eliminate the suffering caused by enforced unemployment.

We Welcome a New Editor

We are very glad to announce that Reinhold Niebuhr has joined the staff of THE WORLD TOMORROW as editor. He will assume his full share of the responsibility for determining the policy of this journal along with the other editors, Kirby Page and Devere Allen, and the Managing Editor, Agnes A. Sharp. Hereafter his editorials, articles and book reviews will appear regularly.

We know of no other person in the entire country whom we would rather have as an addition to our staff than Reinhold Niebuhr. For twelve years he has been pastor of the Bethel Evangelical Church in Detroit. Perhaps no preacher in America has been speaking out on the great social questions of the day with more understanding and courage. He has been chairman of the Mayor's Committee on Inter-Racial Relations in Detroit, as well as chairman of the Industrial Relations Committee of the Detroit Ministerial Association. He is a member of the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of Churches and of its Research Department Committee.

Mr. Niebuhr is one of the very popular speakers to college audiences. He has addressed numerous student conferences, including the national gatherings at Detroit, Milwaukee and Evanston. He has been

university preacher at Michigan, Wisconsin, Chicago, Iowa, Kansas, Brown and many other institutions. Last year he was the annual alumni lecturer at Yale Divinity School, from which he was graduated in 1914. He has been offered several important chairs in outstanding universities and seminaries and the editorship of at least one leading periodical.

His recent book, *Does Civilization Need Religion?*, was chosen by the Religious Book Club and is having a very large sale for a volume of its character. He has contributed half a dozen notable articles to *The Atlantic Monthly*. For a number of years he has been a Contributing Editor of *The Christian Century*. He has traveled widely in Europe and is a serious student of international, racial and economic questions.

The Tragedy of Coal

"Modern pig pens" are better than the hovels and extemporized barracks of the striking miners in Western Pennsylvania. Conditions around Pittsburgh are "a blotch upon American civilization." To forbid miners to sing hymns on the property of a Magyar church which overlooks a coal mine by the fiat of an injunction-granting judge "is an absolute violation of the right of free speech."

These are not the statements of radicals or agitators, but of the Senate's Committee which has been investigating first hand conditions in the bituminous coal camps of Western Pennsylvania. In spite of Senatorial indignation conditions grow steadily worse. Each day increases the problem of relief. Unemployment in general in Western Pennsylvania as in most of the rest of the country is so bad that miners cannot enter other lines of work. Meanwhile the activities of state troopers in breaking up meetings has been intensified. As we write John Brophy, one of the best of the miners' leaders, has been beaten, arrested and concealed in some prison where he has not yet been found by his friends.

The Colorado coal strike initiated by the I. W. W. has been ended, whether by a truce or a peace is yet to be seen. The strikers did not win recognition, but they seem to have won higher wages. This strike was marked by two separate riots in which men were killed. The victims were striking miners. The aggressors apparently were state officials. A wholly autocratic form of military law was set up under which men were arrested and imprisoned with charges against them, and this continued until finally a federal judge interfered. By way of comparison it will be remembered that there was not one killing in the British general strike, or the long and bitter strike of the coal miners.

To complete the picture it should be said that in the anthracite region, where there is no strike and where the union has been recognized, factional war due to the unsatisfactory conditions of contract mining and the weakness, or worse, of the union leadership has cost the lives of four or five men and the imprisonment of others, among whom are Powers Hapgood and his wife, victims of a struggle for free speech.

One cannot deal summarily with this appalling situation. The Lewis administration must share part of the responsibility. It has had no constructive program for the industry, no philosophy but the philosophy of fight and little energy to fight except against the critics within its own ranks. There are strike breakers in Western Pennsylvania who justify their action by their treatment in former times at the hands of the Lewis machine. It is the miners who protest against this machine who are the especial victims of the state police. Nevertheless nothing that can be said against the Lewis administration can justify the treatment of the miners by the coal owners and, indeed, by organized society generally. The situation calls for those who believe in civil liberties, humanity and plain decency to assert themselves.

Plain decency, however, will not go to the roots of the trouble so long as we permit an essential natural resource to remain in the hands of private owners to be manipulated for profit. The bituminous coal industry is a welter of over-development and chaotic competition. According to the last Federal Coal Commission at least twice too many mines are open and more than a hundred million tons of coal are unnecessarily but irrevocably wasted by the mining methods which competition forces upon private operators. In this competitive situation it must be admitted that the unorganized mines of West Virginia and the South have had the advantage over organized mines with their higher standard of wages and better working conditions. Does not this situation call for socialization of the coal industry through national ownership and some form of functional, non-political self government in which producers and consumers may share?

Labor's College at Katonah

Forty-one miles out of New York, at Katonah, is Brookwood Labor College, America's outstanding experiment in workers' education. Endorsed by a large number of international unions, aided by a highly competent advisory committee of economists and educators, and backed by several years' successful experience, even if on a small scale, Brookwood needs, not a rapid, but a modest expansion and is seeking to raise an endowment fund of two million dollars. It proposes to build no skyscrapers or install any carillons. It needs dormitory accommodations for its men students, now struggling to learn amid primitive housing conditions. It needs a place for its books and it needs more books. It needs additions to its astonishingly economical operating budget of $50,000. It needs provisions

for more research work in labor and industrial problems, and it needs to take advantage of its opportunities of reaching many short-term students through summer sessions and extension work. It ought to be handling, instead of its forty students, at least a hundred, for even a hundred would be few enough.

Brookwood's students in the two-year course go out frankly to serve the organized labor movement and the school exists to promote the cause of labor. It is doing magnificent work in providing a beginning of that leadership by which labor in the United States may yet go forward to wield the mighty influence it should upon the future.

What Are the Prospects for Peace?

Is the peace movement gaining or losing in strength? Several long tours in recent months have enabled an editor of this journal to make observations concerning the state of the public mind. Since the opening of the present academic year, he has travelled fifteen thousand miles, from Maine to Washington and from Minnesota to Texas. During this period he has talked with innumerable students, professors, clergymen, social workers, professional and business men. As a result of these contacts, certain impressions stand out in his mind.

The minority groups which constitute the peace movement have never been so numerous, intelligent, vigorous, and influential as now. It still remains true, however, that only a very small percentage of the total population is informed or alert. The great mass of people seem utterly indifferent to public questions. Most men and women are completely absorbed in the daily affairs of business, domestic and social life, and devote little time or energy to international problems. Outside of a few metropolitan dailies little foreign news appears in the press, and most of this is inaccurate and distorted. *The Saturday Evening Post, Liberty,* and *The Ladies' Home Journal* still constitute the literary diet of millions of our citizens. Even among college students, the great majority seem utterly indifferent to international questions and reveal abysmal ignorance concerning contemporary events. Most ministers are likewise absorbed in the details of the local parish and cannot speak with knowledge concerning world affairs.

In its quantitative aspects the present situation is discouraging and distressing. On the other hand, qualitatively, the prospects are encouraging and thrilling. In almost every community there are at least a few people who are thinking clearly and acting vigorously on behalf of international friendship and cooperation. A new realism is visible in the peace movement. The complexity of international problems is better understood. Never again will we put our faith almost exclusively in such an inadequate device as the Hague Tribunal, as was the case just prior to the World War, when William Howard Taft published an optimistic article under the title "The Dawn of World Peace." The causes of war are being more adequately explained. For example, the idea that the World War was caused by a guilty Germany springing upon innocent neighbors is rapidly coming to be recognized as a myth. The economic factors in international relations are receiving more attention. Nationalism and imperialism are being subjected to rigorous analysis. The need for world organization is becoming more apparent. The outlawry of war movement is gaining by leaps and bounds. An increasing number of men and women in the different professions are reaching the pacifist position with regard to war. Especially is it true that the pacifist movement is growing rapidly within the ranks of clergymen. Thousands of ministers are now on record before their congregations to the effect that they will never again sanction war or participate in it. The churches are beginning to disentangle themselves from the war system.

The power of the minority groups that compose the peace movement has been indicated by the successful campaign against the big navy program. It required terrific pressure to force the administration to reduce by nearly two-thirds the proposed appropriation for new ships. The big navy advocates blame the churches and the women's movement for their severe defeat. Opposition to the war we are now waging in Nicaragua is also steadily growing. The marked improvement in our relations with Mexico is due in part to the avalanche of protests against armed intervention by our government at the time of the crisis some months ago. Powerful support is being given to Secretary Kellogg in his efforts to negotiate outlawry of war treaties with France and other countries.

There is, however, no basis for undue optimism. Militarism has never been so deeply entrenched in this country as now. Army and naval officers are becoming increasingly vigorous in their advocacy of preparedness. The R. O. T. C. is being steadily extended in the colleges. Attendance at summer military training camps is increasing. A national campaign on behalf of armed preparedness is being waged from the platform, through the press, over the radio, through the movies. Attacks upon peace workers are increasing in frequency and intensity. National officers of the Daughters of the American Revolution and the American Legion are specializing in attacks upon pacifists. Extreme measures are being taken to prevent anti-war advocates from getting a hearing. Freedom of speech is being denied in many quarters. Meetings arranged for pacifists are being cancelled as a result of pressure and intimidation. This increased opposition to the peace movement, however, is itself an indication that the latter is gaining ground. History makes it clear

that as any reform movement advances, the opposition becomes more severe and ruthless.

What are the prospects for peace? Much depends upon whether or not a grave international crisis can be avoided during the next ten years. At the rate the minority groups of peace workers are gaining in clarity of thinking and vigor of acting, they will become sufficiently strong within another decade to prevent this country from going to war, and to cause it to seek security and justice by peaceful means. The race is on.

Rights Upon the High Seas

Senator Borah has rendered a conspicuous service by introducing a resolution in the Senate calling upon the nations to codify sea law. What is needed is not mere codification. New agreements are imperatively required. So far as relations between the United States and Great Britain are concerned, no aspect of international law is more important than that dealing with the respective rights of belligerents and neutrals in war time. It was repeated violations of our rights upon the high seas by Germany that caused us to enter the World War. We narrowly escaped war with Great Britain in 1914 and 1915 as a result of conflicting interpretations of sea law. It is of supreme importance that every aspect of this vital question should be discussed in a friendly spirit and that definite agreements be reached before a grave crisis arises.

Disapproved by the National Censor

Colonel Edward E. Spafford, National Commander of the American Legion, recently sought to prevent Sherwood Eddy from speaking in several Southern states. In a number of places he was successful. In a letter to a Department Commander, Colonel Spafford wrote: "It seems, therefore, the best thing to do is, if possible, to prevent his speaking. . . . It is best not to attempt to put over any public propaganda against Mr. Eddy, for there is nothing better in the world to insure a packed house." The Colonel boasted that certain meetings which had been arranged for Mr. Eddy in another city had been cancelled "because proper pressure was brought to bear." A certain Department Commander wrote to one of his constituency: "I suggest that you get in touch with the proper people at ——— and either have the engagement cancelled or arrange for some good legionnaire to speak after him."

We respectfully suggest to these officials of the American Legion that they spend an hour a day in meditation upon the following words of Rupert Hughes as recorded in their own official publication, *The American Legion Monthly*, for July, 1927: "One of the most striking things about the peace is that great numbers of our fellow-citizens have made war on speakers whose doctrines they disapprove of; they have invaded halls and driven out the audiences; they have prevented auditoriums from being rented to speakers. . . . Americanism means the constant increase of liberty, not its constant diminution, yet the most un-American crimes are being almost daily committed in the name of Americanism. Many of the most violent protectors of Americanism are doing their best to destroy it or make it a by-word of oppression and intolerance. . . . The best way to make this country Bolshevik is to turn local units of national patriotic organizations into police stations from which czaristic policemen will sally forth to beat up people who are trying to express their honest opinions. . . . If I admit that my opponents have such convincing arguments that I will neither listen to them nor permit anybody else to listen to them, that is to admit that my own arguments are worthless."

Franking Fred's Frivolities

Under this title the New York *Telegram* discusses witheringly the exposure by Senator Walsh of Montana, in the Senate, of the use of the government frank by certain branches of the War Department for distributing anti-pacifist propaganda. According to Senator Walsh (Congressional Record, Feb. 27, 1928, pages 3715 to 3723) it appears that under frank, and in violation of law, attacks on pacifists have been sent out by Army officers, in an effort to induce certain organizations to place a ban on pacifist speakers. Bulletins for the troops under their command have been sent out by corps area commanders, the Senator revealed, containing not only matter essential to training and discipline, but consisting of further attacks on pacifists—again in violation of the law.

Behind this propaganda in many cases may be seen the inventive genius of Mr. Fred R. Marvin, master mind of the Key Men of America. For example, the Bulletin of the Third Coast Artillery District, with headquarters at Fort Monroe, Va., carried in its issue of January, 1928, an article by Mr. Marvin entitled "Breeders of Trouble."

Mr. Marvin qualifies, if anybody does, to discuss that subject. When the frame-up of Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana was undertaken to cover up the oil trail, Mr. Marvin was active in the State. Returning, he wrote later to one of his friends:

New York Commercial,
New York, February 17, 1924.

Mr. E. C. Shields,
Associated Industries, Billings, Mont.

My dear Mr. Shields: How goes the game? I have not had time to write you since Heck was a pup, as the work down here has been exceptionally heavy.

Now I am writing only because I want a little "dope." I want the "low down" on one THOMAS WALSH, Senator from your State. To what extent has he been mixed with Bill Dunn and the radical element? What is his political life, so far as con-

nections with radicals are concerned? If you have anything along that line, shoot it to me, please, and I will be your everlasting friend.

Hope the game goes well with you. When you have any bulletins or news matters about open-shop work in Billings, mail it in; we like to use all such matter in the Commercial.

Fred R. Marvin,
Editor, Searchlight Department

Nobody has exceeded Mr. Marvin in defending Messrs. Fall, Doheny, et al. In the *Army and Navy Journal* for May 1, 1926, he declared them "loyal citizens," whose sole concern was the welfare of the Navy. Recounting the oil scandals, he said, "A Senate investigating committee was invoked. This came because of the inconsistency of a certain radical group in the Senate that has been ready at all times to play the hand of foreign agencies seeking disruption in the United States."

It would be grossly improper for pacifists to spread their ideas through government frank under the existing postal regulations; and it may be that even the zeal of Mr. Marvin and his cohorts will henceforth suffer a little curtailment. There are plenty of other legitimate avenues for the superpatriots' publicity and pacifist-baiting, plenty of places for them to air their views. And the more thoroughly those views are aired, the sooner will the common sense of the American public laugh them out of court. Perhaps we, like Senator Walsh, use the word "views" inadvisedly. Senator Caraway asserted, "I rather object to the word 'views'; they are worse than that." Whereupon replied the Senator from Montana: "I think, perhaps, it was an unfortunate choice."

The Significance of Havana

The Havana Conference was an important event. Our first thought was to write it down as a failure. From one angle it was a tragedy. Far more important, however, than the temporary failure to solve the most menacing problems is the fact that Havana has given a great impetus to the conference method of handling international affairs. Fourteen Pan American conferences will assemble during the next few months to carry out the resolutions and instructions of the Havana conference. It is true that these forthcoming gatherings will carefully avoid all consideration of several of the most vital Pan American problems. Nevertheless, they are likely to be significant because they will help the respective nations to form the conference *habit* and will aid in perfecting the conference *technique*. These gatherings will probably make an important contribution to international law.

Attention should be called to an altogether unwarranted interpretation of one action of the Havana Conference. The delegates, including Mr. Hughes, did not commit themselves to the principle of compulsory arbitration of all international controversies. A careful reading of the resolution passed reveals that it refers only to "international differences of a *juridical* nature." This restriction excludes many of the most serious quarrels which are likely to arise. Moreover, the signatories expressly reserve the right to determine for themselves "the minimum exceptions which they consider indispensable" when the proposed arbitration treaty is drawn up. The United States may be prepared to enter into an all-inclusive arbitration pact with Latin American countries, but if we take such action it will constitute a complete reversal of the attitude we have thus far maintained. We have never ratified a treaty of this character. Always we have included the famous "except" clauses.

Another word of caution is needed. Let us not be deceived by the reports that the Conference greatly increased our prestige in Latin America. The flowery speeches of diplomats must not be interpreted literally. Only a few of the delegates said aloud what multitudes of their respective citizens are thinking and shouting from the housetops. There is considerable evidence to show that our southern neighbors are more apprehensive and fearful than ever. Some are increasingly bitter and hostile.

The price we must pay for Pan American friendship and cooperation is the abandonment of the policy of arbitrary armed intervention and the substitution of collective action of a diplomatic, financial, economic and moral character. That is, we must help transform the Pan American Union into an international clearing house with political functions.

The Scandal Spreads

Silently, one by one, the stars in the infinite corruption of the oil scandal made what use they could of the ill-gotten spoils. Mr. Will Hays, movie czar, Presbyterian elder and former chairman of the National Republican Committee, is shown by his own reluctant admissions to have indulged in some extremely shady practices. In order to keep contributions secret, "dummy" contributors allowed their names to be used although the real funds came from elsewhere. One benefactor of the Grand Oil Party was Harry F. Sinclair, who contributed in this manner $160,000—as Hays now admits—instead of $75,000 as he told the Senate four years ago.

Mr. Mellon, when invited to try this secret stunt by Hays, declined and contributed openly $50,000. Yet he remained silent about what was going on, and when asked why by the Senate Committee replied, "I take things in this world as they are, and act according to my conscience."

And Mr. Coolidge, who sat in the Cabinet when the oil leases were consummated and who has spoken once —and feebly—since the original exposures, sees no need of further speech.

Our American Press—the Bright Side*

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

IT would be far easier to record the extraordinary changes and developments which have taken place in the profession, or rather business, of journalism than it is to specify its positive gains during the last two decades. Yet there are some advances which can well be used to offset the seamy side of newspaperdom which, through its flamboyant ugliness and sordid sensationalism, obtrudes itself upon us at every street corner. It is true, however, that the bark of journalism is now sailing new and uncharted seas and no one is qualified to guess what the final destination, if any, may be, or even what the sextant and sun will show as to its position a dozen years hence.

For the changes in the business are as swift as they are kaleidoscopic. Formerly, when there were epoch-making inventions they affected the nation only slowly—witness the leisurely growth of railroad and telegraph. Now, however, automobiles and radios work their revolutions almost overnight and at once profoundly affect our whole social and economic life. Similarly, the new economic trends toward combinations; the ruthless blotting out of competitors in order to achieve a partial or an entire monopoly; the appearance of absentee ownership; the public marketing of the stocks or bonds of private companies; the development of chains of stores, or of similar businesses, and the steady drift towards standardization have all left their mark on the newspaper world. Dailies are disappearing constantly—at least sixty in 1927—because of the trend toward monopoly; all the dailies of some cities, like those of Pittsburgh, are owned by persons whose chief interests are in New York or California; Mr. Hearst alone has $40,000,000 of securities in the hands of the public, the Scripps-Howard chain $8,500,000, and others are following their example, while he and the Scripps-Howard combination own respectively 26 and 27 dailies. Finally, the news and feature syndicates, and the purchasing of "canned" editorials supplied by some distant agency giving the views of some unknown writer, supply the standardization which has gone so far as to crush out most of the old typographical individuality and to make it very difficult to distinguish between the dailies in different cities, except in so far as their genuine news pages are colored by their special local interests and news. In other words, the newspaper business is affected by the prevailing economic pressure precisely as are the drug business, the department stores, and many other lines of merchandise.

AGAINST these things must be set the great improvement in the news offered by high-grade newspapers to their readers—(throughout this article, I am dealing not with the tabloids and other forms of gutter journalism, but with the standard type of newspapers such as the New York *Times,* the Springfield *Republican* and the Baltimore *Suns.*) This is not merely due to the large increase in the volume of news carried by the news services, notably the Associated Press and the United Press, but also to an increased desire for news created by the newspaper itself. It is beginning to penetrate the entire profession that the phenomenon of the huge business and circulation success of the New York *Times* has largely been due to the great amount of news that it has steadily crowded into its columns. It has by no means always lived up to its slogan, "All the news that's fit to print," but it has carried a volume of it which has probably not been surpassed by any newspaper in the world, unless it be some of the great South American dailies. It has rendered a fine service to contemporary writers and historians by printing verbatim the most important speeches and documents, a custom which it began during the war and has since continued. Moreover, this amazingly full record of the day-by-day world has been made accessible by an admirable index. I do not mean to imply that all the news that the *Times* has carried has been decent or that the character of its news is always beyond suspicion. It printed some very false news, indeed, during the war and in the years immediately thereafter, and can still go quite wrong, as is evidenced by its recent fabulous story of a revolt in the Russian Ukraine. The character of the news that it gets, moreover, as is always the case, is affected by the spectacles worn by its editors. It is not interested in labor *per se* nor in liberal movements for liberalism's sake. Just as a great liberal daily would be less interested in printing the records of happenings in the conservative camp, so the conservatives are less concerned with liberal happenings and are more and more inclined to doubt the value and circulation-increasing worth of purely liberal events.

The lesson which Mr. Ochs has given to the press, that a great daily may be built up without comic strips and Sunday "funny" supplements, and sensational make-ups and headlines, has had a great deal of effect upon the business as a whole. Papers like the Baltimore *Suns* have not needed to be told that this sort of thing pays. They have always valued honest news and carried plenty of it. The change with them has

* Eighth in a series of articles on "Recent Gains in American Civilization."
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been a largely increased interest in foreign affairs, for which the World War, of course, deserves considerable credit.

The changed position of America since the war and the economic problems we have to face, such as the revolt of the farmers, are also responsible for an increased volume of news in the metropolitan dailies from the interior and the more remote portions of the country. It is still far too true that for the Eastern editor the western boundary of the United States is the Hudson River. Yet, if we compare the daily of 1900 with the daily of 1928 in this respect, the gain is there, even if the increased volume of news too often relates to the latest horrible crime in Los Angeles or Arkansas.

HOW does the daily of today stand in relation to the advertiser? That is one of the first questions that is asked me whenever I speak on journalism, and from the character of the questions asked it is plain that the public believes that the press is in a large measure dominated by the advertiser. It is my belief that in this respect, too, we can record a great improvement in journalism. There are prostitutes in every profession and plenty of them among the 1,950-odd dailies published in this country. Weak newspapers are often likely to yield to the temptation to let the large advertiser take charge of their editorial columns; the strong ones are freer from temptation to yield and freer from danger of boycott, because groups of advertisers realize that the enormously increased volume of advertising in the successful newspapers has relatively decreased their individual value to the newspaper manager. Strong newspapers are indifferent to threats of boycott. I have before this recorded the courage of the New York *World* when a department store manager demanded that it should make no mention whatever of a serious elevator accident in the store. The answer of the *World* was to put the news of the accident at the top of its first page, under a conspicuous headline. There will of course always be dailies like the timid Boston *Herald* of today, which would die rather than voluntarily print an item of news which would reflect on an advertiser, or any of the business friends of the corporation managers who control the paper. But in this case the abdication of independence and fearlessness is not primarily in relation to the advertiser; it runs throughout the daily's relations to the public. That is, I think, the essential difference; where a newspaper yields to a cowardly fear of the advertiser it yields all along the line. It is to be had by anyone who accosts it, instead of being complaisant to one group of patrons.

As for the character of the advertising, here, too, we can record a great improvement, at least in the dailies in the big cities. The old patent medicine has been driven to the columns of the weeklies of the rural districts and the weak small-town newspapers in order to call its wares to the attention of the gullible. Laws against get-rich-quick advertising in the financial field have helped newspaper owners to a better morality.

Other factors which have helped newspaper editors to purify their advertising columns have been frequent successful suits against them—not, however, reported in their news columns—because of losses sustained through improper advertising, or because of misstatements in the advertisements themselves. A typographical error in a single small advertisement in an up-State New York newspaper in one of the larger cities is said to have cost that paper $10,000. Though such happenings are rare they give a tremendous impulse to the movement within the business itself to purify the advertising columns. Dailies like the New York *Times* and the New York *World* now take the greatest care to censor their advertising, even to the extent of forming committees within the office to pass upon advertisements which would seem entirely acceptable to the average reader.

Still another abuse which is yielding to the progress of time is that of political advertising. Even the rural weeklies which in some counties in New York State used to be entirely supported by this kind of political pap, and by county printing jobs, are breaking away from this form of corruption, and of subserviency to political interests. The growth of legitimate advertising within their pages, such as the automobile advertising, has helped the offending editors to find other ways to a livelihood than by the sale of their editorial opinions for political printing and advertising. If the end is not yet, we have certainly gone a long step in the direction of ending this evil.

Even in the case of high grade financial advertising there is greater circumspection than ever. In view of the fact that there has been a court decision that even the line often put in advertisements by brokers and bankers to the effect that the preceding statements are correct according to the best belief of the brokers so far as the facts are known to them does not protect the merchandisers of the securities in question from liability for false statements made in the advertising. There is still, of course, a great deal of misrepresentation in advertising in relation to the quality of goods offered and the claims made for them; it is pleasant to record that some of the advertising agencies themselves are now moving to do away with these wrongdoings.

TO return to the relationship of the daily newspaper to public opinion, there are still many instances where journals are ready to risk financial and circulation losses by going counter to the aroused sentiment of the entire community, or to the wishes of

officials entrenched in authority. It is a great happiness to record that, despite the ever increasing dangers of commercialism, there are still brave men in the business ready, if necessary, to risk their lives in order to carry on campaigns for what they believe to be the right, such as that waged by Don H. Mellett of the Canton, Ohio, *Daily News,* who was murdered because of his determination to rid the city of the corrupt alliance between its criminals and its police, and other officials. Mr. Mellett's fellow-citizens, whose indifference to the political and social conditions in their own town made necessary his heroic sacrifice, have taken sufficient shame unto themselves to erect a monument to him. It is to two undaunted Indiana editors, Thomas H. Adams, editor of the Vincennes *Commercial,* who started the fight, and to Boyd Gurley, editor of the Indianapolis *Times,* a Scripps-Howard paper, which is believed to have lost 25,000 readers almost overnight because of its policy, that we owe the exposure of some of the corruption which has made a byword of the name of the State of Indiana. The fight against the Ku Klux Klan in the South brought out many similar examples of courage and fearlessness, notably in Alabama and Georgia, even when there was great risk of personal injury. True, these examples of patriotic devotion are not new; they can be paralleled by similar acts of courage throughout the history of the American press, but there is at least great satisfaction in knowing that this crusading spirit has also not yielded wholly to the untoward influences which menace the daily press of the large cities.

Chief of these is the control of the editorial pages by the narrow class viewpoint of the owners, many of whom have bought their dailies precisely as they might buy any enterprise in order to invest surplus capital. Against this undoubted deterioration of many editorial pages must be offset their emancipation from the narrow political partisanship which, with scarcely an exception, dominated the American press down to the Presidential campaign of 1884.

NO account of the betterment of the press would be complete without a reference to the rise of certain dailies which has taken place in the last two decades. They are perhaps less significant in themselves than in the suggestion of what might be done to counteract the prevailing economic tendencies. One naturally thinks first of the *Christian Science Monitor,* the daily organ of a religious sect, which has become one of the foremost dailies in the country, notable in the cleanness of its news and the extraordinary attention it gives to printing accurate foreign news obtained from its own corps of selected correspondents stationed abroad. I do not know whether the *Monitor* has as yet achieved financial independence of the Mother Church, but I do know that it has grown steadily in the respect of many readers who are not Christian Scientists. It has the serious handicap that its news is censored in accordance with the peculiar teachings of the Christian Science Church, and that, therefore, it is compelled often to omit legitimate news because the element of death or illness enters into it. But as one not of that faith I have been earnestly hoping for its financial success in order that other groups might perhaps be stimulated to demonstrate that they, too, can maintain a great daily and keep it clean, honest, intelligent, and truthful, and perhaps also free from the limitations of any creed.

Another experiment, of an entirely different type, embodies a principle to which we may all have to come later on if we are to have a press free from the evils that attend it when it becomes a purely money-making institution. I refer to the Jewish *Daily Forward,* published in New York in the Yiddish language. By contrast to the *Monitor,* the *Forward,* I am told, frequently stoops to the gutter. Every time that I praise it in an article or a speech I am fairly overwhelmed by denunciations of the paper and of my gullibility in accepting what people tell me about it—I do not read Yiddish. But I am not concerned as to the quality of its pages or the character of all the articles that it prints. What interests me about the paper is that it is a non-profit-making daily. It is owned by an association of some fifty men, who never receive one cent from its operation. Its editors and managers pay themselves reasonable salaries, and the large profits which the paper has made have inured not to any individual connected with the paper but to the benefit of the causes in which the *Forward* is especially interested. To labor unions, to Jewish relief, for many other philanthropic purposes, it has turned over the large sums which it has earned.

Unfortunately, one of the most interesting developments of the last decade, the effort to maintain in Minneapolis a daily in the interest of labor, and the farmer-labor political movement of six years ago, came to an untimely end. Not because the idea of having a newspaper owned by several thousand persons is in principle impossible, but because it had from the outset untrained management. This may yet be a way out if our ordinary commercial dailies continue to disappear and large groups in a community find themselves without recognition in the press. It is, of course, entirely regrettable that we have not yet developed a powerful labor press in this country. For that matter, the great labor movement in England has founded only one daily, and has not yet been able to make it financially independent of gifts from the party treasury, or from those of labor unions. The next decade or two in this country may see a stronger movement in this direction which may produce more as successful as Victor Berger's Milwaukee *Leader,* and the others

that somehow or other manage in the face of great difficulty to keep their heads above water. In this connection it is well to record that the Communist movement in this country is beginning to have its press, which is animated by a fighting spirit that gives it vitality, if it does not assume reliability or the willingness to record the facts about those who do not sympathize with its doctrines.

Similarly, the last decade has witnessed the continuing development of three liberal weeklies, *The Survey, The New Republic,* and *The Nation,* to say nothing of the service rendered by such monthlies as *Unity* and THE WORLD TOMORROW. I am, of course, too close to this movement in the press to be able to judge it, or to prophesy about it without bias. I am hopeful that they will gradually win their way to popular support, so that their future may be assured as permanent institutions in the field of journalism similar to that held by the more conservative weeklies. Time alone will tell. I should like to record here, however, that I meet an increasing number of daily newspaper men who tell me they believe that some of the present currents of daily journalism are bound to have their effect upon the weekly political and reform press to the benefit of the latter. Time will show; if there should be a liberal political reawakening, as is by no means impossible, this type of journalism will unquestionably profit.

AT present the great opportunity of journalism for the aspiring young patriot seems to me to lie in the smaller cities. If one takes what Julia and Julian Harris have been able to achieve with their *Enquirer-Sun* in the small Georgia city of Columbus; if one recalls again the extraordinarily fine service rendered by a number of the Southern newspapers, one cannot but feel that here is at best journalistic progress, and at worst a holding fast to the old-fashioned standards of the press of a bygone day when many of the dailies were really actuated, like the old *Evening Post,* by the desire "to diffuse correct information on all interesting subjects, to inculcate just principles in religion, morals, and politics, and to cultivate a taste for sound literature," which was the purpose of that daily when it was founded by the friends of Alexander Hamilton at his instigation, and with his cooperation.

Finally, I must not fail to record two recent developments, both of them too new to make it possible to evaluate them or the promise they give to American journalism. Since, however, they have been started practically within the last two decades they deserve a place in this paper. I refer to the schools of journalism, and to the more recently formed Society of American Editors, the latter for the avowed purpose of upholding ethical standards, and dealing with flagrant transgressions of the current code of journalistic morals. The difficulty with the Society is that its members are usually hired men who may preach standards and ethics, but who will accomplish nothing without the support of their owners. What kind of ethics can the editors of Mr. Hearst's papers uphold in practice, or the editors of the Chicago *Tribune,* or the New York *Daily News,* or the Los Angeles *Times,* or the newspapers owned by Cyrus H. K. Curtis? Everybody wishes the Society well, and hopes that it will accomplish a great deal, but it remains at present an experiment pure and simple, to be welcomed because, after all, it represents a stirring among the editors, and a realization that there are many and grave evils for them to cope with.

As to the schools of journalism, they, too, indubitably mark a tendency and a movement heartily to be welcomed. But they must be judged by what their graduates actually achieve. We must have proof that these neophytes are creating higher ethical standards and living up to them, before we may properly say that they are benefiting the profession. I cannot forget that some of the noblest editors we have ever had, who produced the finest newspapers ever published, both weekly and daily, were men who were trained in no schools of journalism, sometimes were even without high school training. But they had moral standards and ethical principles and lived up to them at any cost, without regard to the effect upon their personal fortunes, or the counting rooms of their publications. When men like these enter journalism it makes no difference where they were trained, or whether they had special instruction in the simple technique of a newspaper. They are bound to give the best that is in them, and that best is certain to leave enduring marks upon their profession and their times.

"I'm going to give you ten extra. They's another divorce case headline to-night."
—The American Child, June, 1927.

Not in the Headlines

AGNES A. SHARP

Seek Entry of U. S. Into World Court

President Coolidge was requested by the nine women's organizations composing the National Committee of the Cause and Cure of War to do everything possible to reopen negotiations for the entrance of the U. S. into the World Court.

4,000 Filipinos Studying in U. S.

The Bureau of Education estimates that there are approximately 4,000 students from the Philippine Islands attending schools and colleges here.

Courts-Martial Abolished in Poland

By Presidential decree, courts-martial in Poland have been annulled, and in future trials of a political and criminal character will be conducted in the ordinary courts. The courts-martial were instituted for the purpose of fighting the lawlessness and brigandage that had become rife in Poland after the war.

Yale Students and Professors Protest

One hundred and fifty students and faculty members of Yale Divinity School have sent to congressmen, senators, and the President a protest against the proposed Big Navy program as a step away from peace, competitive, provocative of war psychology, and unwarranted at a time when we are urging disarmament upon Europe. They urge that the influence of the Government continue to be thrown on the side of naval reduction by international agreement and be exerted helpfully in favor of treaties that shall offer hope of ultimate security for all peoples through cooperation and organized goodwill, not force.

The German Society

The oldest charity society in this country is the German Society which was founded in 1784, one year after the close of the Revolutionary War. It provides medical service, a free employment service, and an immigration service. Its assets for the last fiscal year were $442,668. From the beginning distinguished men have been associated with it. Von Steuben, organizer of the Continental Army, was its second president. Its acting president is ex-Judge Herman C. Kudlich, whose father liberated the peasants in Austria eighty years ago.

Boulder Dam

The full cost of building a dam, an All-American canal, and a hydro-electric plant at Boulder, Colorado—$125,000,000—could be defrayed in twenty-five years by government operation and sale of the electrical energy as provided for in the Swing-Johnson Bill. And after that, if the Government continued ownership and operation, it would have a net annual revenue of $6,200,000 clear profit.

The bill has three provisions: It would build a dam and a reservoir sufficient to hold the entire flow of the river for a year and a half; it would build a canal that would irrigate the Imperial Valley; it would build a great hydro-electric plant at the dam, which, it is estimated, could develop 550,000 continuously available horsepower.

Church Asks U. S. to Hit at Slavery

The United States Government is asked to ratify the Geneva Convention on Slavery in resolutions adopted by the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The board also asks members to "encourage" the President, the members of Congress and the State Department to ratify the treaty.

As We Make Our Income Tax Reports

Two hundred and twenty-eight persons in the United States reported net incomes of $1,000,000 or more—fourteen of them $5,000,000 or more—according to a preliminary report on returns of net income for 1926 issued by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue.

The number of million dollar incomes was twenty-one more than for 1925. The 228 paid a tax of $81,245,334 for 1926 as against $66,867,521 the year before. The top fourteen had incomes of $101,675,702 and paid a tax of $17,174,771. The average net income, it is pointed out, is $5,291.26, the average amount of tax $178.50, and the average tax rate 3.37 per cent.

Unemployment Relief and Prevention

The Jones Bill, before the present Congress, would adopt a "prosperity reserve" by the federal government. This bill appropriates $150,000,000 for public works, including rural post roads, river and harbor improvements, flood control, and public buildings outside the District of Columbia. Work under this appropriation is to be undertaken only when it is apparent that a marked decrease of employment is under way in the construction industry of the United States. This plan would serve as a sponge to absorb workers who lose their jobs as a result of a depression. And this would stimulate manufacture of building materials.

The American Association for Labor Legislation is advancing a program of measures for public action which has been tested out through two previous periods of industrial depression. These standard recommendations for the relief and prevention of unemployment represent the mature conclusions of more than 300 organizations and individuals in close touch with unemployment problems in 115 different communities throughout the country. They point out what should be avoided as well as what should be done. They include a public employment service through an adequate system of state-federal employment bureaus knit together to supply accurate information concerning the labor market; long-range planning of public works adjusted to the demands of private industry for men and materials, to hold back public construction activities in times of industrial prosperity, and to spend the "prosperity reserve" thus accumulated at the beginning of periods of industrial depression; Unemployment Insurance to sustain the rejected labor forces during their involuntary unemployment, and furnish them with needed purchasing power. There should also be further development of the stabilizing effects of the Federal Reserve System's practice of discouraging over-speculation by raising money rates, which has already proved of aid in preventing financial panics.

America Goes to Sea—and to War?

FRANCIS P. MILLER

FOR one interested in peace the most impressive fact in the life of the world at the present time is the rapidity with which the United States has overtaken Great Britain as the world's foremost commercial nation. During the first quarter of this century our exports increased more than two hundred per cent and our imports more than four hundred per cent. For the same period Great Britain's exports increased about one hundred and twenty-four per cent and her imports at approximately the same rate. Whereas in 1900 our imports were about one-third the value of hers, they are now three-quarters, and our exports, which equalled Great Britain's in 1900, are now fifteen per cent greater than hers. An even more startling change has occurred in the proportion of American exports carried in American bottoms. In 1900 American ships carried only 7.1 per cent of our exports, while British ships carried 51 per cent. By 1926 the percentage of our total exports carried in American ships had risen to 29.5, while those carried in British ships had fallen to 28.5. Furthermore, the volume of trade during the first quarter of the century had expanded to such an extent that at the end of that period American bottoms were carrying thirteen times the amount of American exports which they were carrying at the beginning, and British bottoms were carrying one and three-quarters times the amount.

This is not simply a phenomenal trade expansion. It is essentially a commercial revolution with world-wide significance. It is as important as the arrival of the English in the seventeenth century upon the trade routes hitherto occupied by the Dutch, and poses an equally serious problem for the statesmen of the nations concerned.

It is not the first time that America has possessed a great merchant marine. She had one, and perhaps a better one, a century ago. But it is the first time that her own internal economic needs, the maintenance of her prosperity and her standard of living, have forced her into the front rank of international trade, a place held almost undisputed by Great Britain for more than two centuries. In 1815 our merchantmen were somewhat of a luxury, because we had a continent of our own waiting to be exploited. A century later the initial stages of that exploitation had been completed. Meanwhile the industrial system which we had developed in the process of exploitation had acquired a momentum which could not be confined to the shores of a continent. At a certain point its national expansion required a search for foreign markets in which to dispose of an ever growing surplus of production. At the same time the system discovered needs which could only be supplied by raw materials unobtainable in America. In 1925 ex-Secretary Redfield calculated that 7 per cent of the essential commodities which the United States would need in time of war had to be brought from abroad, and the value of our imports in 1926 reached the amazing total of four billion seven hundred million dollars, or only three hundred million less than our exports. So much for the myth of our self-sufficiency.

This lightning growth of a new trading power of the first magnitude naturally tends to disturb somewhat brusquely the equilibrium that exists between the various trading interests already established and stimulates competition of a more intense and relentless character. Hence scare headlines of "The Oil War in India" or "The Film Fight in England." These rumblings would not be ominous for the world's peace, if they were the result of competition between nationals within the frontiers of their own country. Why, then, do they become more sinister when they occur between the nationals of different countries? For the very simple reason that most nations have discovered a procedure for resolving differences between their own citizens, but there is as yet no satisfactory procedure for resolving differences between nationals of different states when these differences come to be identified with the interests of their respective countries.

The emergence of the United States as potentially the world's greatest trading nation means the sudden introduction into the community of nations of a new and terrifyingly powerful economic force. But there is no agreement as to the rules which should regulate the interplay of this force with the economic forces of other nations. Hence America's arrival on the scene has in it the possibility of extremely sinister events. For war is the inevitable consequence of unregulated economic forces running loose in the community of nations. Some of these forces sooner or later become personified as the national will, and when such forces get in the way of other forces personifying other national wills and insist on remaining in the way, then war results, provided that in the meantime no alternative method of resolving the conflict has been adopted. Where no agreed procedure exists for dealing with the conflict of economic interests in world trade, the nation that goes to sea will in time also go to war.

The logic of this is not against America's going to sea. That is her evident destiny. She has the same right to become the world's greatest trader as every other nation that has occupied that position in the past. The logic is rather to confront the American Government with a problem of statesmanship undoubtedly more difficult but at the same time more fascinating than any it has yet undertaken. The problem with which it is faced is to discover a procedure for resolving differences between it and other trading nations as they arise, before the loose play of economic forces had had time to create the tension that leads to war.

One does not get the impression that the State Department is yet conscious of the existence of this fundamental task. Moreover, the Navy Department from its long and realistic experience assumes apparently that the State Department will continue to doze until it is too late. Hence Mr. Wilbur's billion dollar building program. Mr. Wilbur knows perfectly well that in a world where there is no generally accepted law of the sea, a nation with ten billion dollars' worth of commerce on the ocean each year must expect sooner or later to have its trade routes barred by someone with a different interpretation of its rights. In such a world the battleship and the cruiser are the necessary corollary of the merchantman, the navy the inevitable logic of an expanding overseas trade. But is such a world the only possible world?

In theory the British still adhere to the Declaration of Paris (1856) which permitted the free passage in time of war of neutral shipping (except contraband goods) to all ports other than those effectively blockaded. However, Great Britain has never hesitated to renounce this Declaration when her existence was threatened, and so in practice her position is diametrically opposed to America's. As long as the United States and Great Britain maintain these contradictory interpretations of their respective rights, the possibility of conflict between them cannot be entirely eliminated. I do not agree with Lord Robert Cecil, who, in speaking to the students of Glasgow University a few days ago, said: "We are right to disregard the possibility of a war between the United States and Great Britain." As long as no agreed procedure exists for resolving the differences between us, evasion is the surest way to blunder into conflict. Let us face that possibility squarely, not with the perverted interest of the small group of Big Navy maniacs in both countries, but with a full realization of the utter horror which it would involve.

The fate of their civilization as well as their forms of government depends upon how the governments in London and Washington deal with this matter during the next quarter of a century. Each should recognize fully the legitimate needs of the other. Washington knows the full truth of Britain's oft repeated argument that if blockaded she has only food for seven weeks. Washington can also readily understand the special character of the naval patrols required by the exceptionally long and numerous trade routes that connect the various parts of the British Commonwealth of Nations. On the other hand, London, out of its own experience, can appreciate America's need for a navy commensurate with its expanding commerce, so long as American views in regard to the rights of neutrals in time of war are not shared by others.

Though it is by no means an exact analogy, our immense and as yet unregulated force in the international field is probably affecting the British Admiralty in somewhat the same way that Germany affected France during the half century before Locarno. The natural British deduction is that they must have enough cruisers to keep the sea paths clear, for who can tell what this prodigious world power across the Atlantic expanding at such a fearful rate may do next.

Through such fears and suspicions the Disarmament road has been blocked. But there is still time to escape if our two Governments will think clearly and act courageously. Perhaps it is just as well that we are being driven to search for other alternatives, for there is a more immediate task before the American Government than either disarmament or outlawry. This fundamental task is to initiate conversations with Great Britain for the purpose of a restatement of Sea Law, which will be acceptable to both countries, and of agreeing upon a procedure for settling all differences of interpretation which may arise. If such an agreement could once be reached between Great Britain and the United States, disarmament would follow and there would be some chance for outlawry. As long as there is radical disagreement on this point neither country will disarm and if there were any outlawry agreement, either country would denounce it under the pressure of necessity.

THE issue is quite clear. The task, however complicated and difficult, is extraordinarily concrete. It consists in initiating conversations on this one fundamental point of disagreement between these two countries, intrusting the conversations to the ablest commissioners we can find and carrying them on, even though it may require a period of years, until an agreement is reached.

It appears likely that Great Britain is in a mood to be especially receptive to such a suggestion. The failure of the Geneva Conference created a profound impression in that country. Some such shock may have been unfortunately necessary to force upon the consciousness of British statesmen the necessity of reckoning with an America which has achieved an equality with Great Britain in world trade. There is wide and intense interest in the question of relations with America and the implications of our new naval program.

At this juncture it is extremely important for statesmen and publicists in the United States to be aware of the trend of opinion in Great Britain. Here are the most important facts to remember.

First of all, the British Government has just cut its cruiser building program for the next two years from six cruisers to three cruisers.

The second fact of significance is the impressive amount of opinion that is marshalling in favor of some modification of the British interpretation of Sea Law in order to meet the American position.

In *Foreign Affairs* (English) for January, 1928, Lt.-Commander Kenworthy writes:

> "I believe it would be in our highest interests to meet the Americans half-way here; for if we agreed to respect American commerce at sea in wartime, except in the event of economic sanctions applied to a rebel nation under Article XVI of the Covenant, I believe the Americans would agree with us to a mutual guarantee for each other's commerce; and an agreed limitation of naval armaments might then be arrived at."

At the Annual Meeting of the Liberal and Radical Candidates' Association on December 13, 1927, the following resolution was adopted:

> "Further believing that matters of maritime law form the most serious obstacle to an agreement between the United States of America and Great Britain (and bearing in mind how potent a factor for peace such an agreement would be), the Association urges upon the British Government the prime necessity of commencing immediately through diplomatic channels the full and frank examination with the United States of such matters in the hope that agreements may be reached which will ensure that the failure of the Geneva Conference is not followed by another failure when the results of the Washington Conference of 1921 are re-examined in 1931."

The conclusion of a leading editorial in *The Nation and Athenaeum* for December 17, 1927, says:

> "We agree, therefore, with those who urge that Great Britain should be ready to modify her traditional attitude upon sea law, and that a British initiative upon this question would be the best means of retrieving the failure of the Coolidge Conference."

The *Manchester Guardian* has taken the lead in advocating the same policy in a vigorous and convincing manner. It is also very interesting to note that the "stunt press" in London is now adopting a very conciliatory tone toward America.

This is the trend of a not inconsiderable section of British public opinion. What will be America's reply? The United States has a heavy responsibility in this matter. The United States has thrown down the challenge of rivalry for world trade. The United States has gone to sea. Will she also go to war? Responsibility for the answer lies to a very large extent with the Department of State and the President.

A FUNNY THING TO TAKE TO SUNDAY-SCHOOL!
—Alley in the Memphis *Commercial Appeal.*

In the Human Heart Before the War

I————What are you doing down there in the bottom? You look haggard.

The Beast—They drive me down. Things are not what they used to be.

I————You had your day.

The Beast—Yes, yes.—Oh, for the good old times.

I————And now?

The Beast—They starve me. They take from the beast to feed the—the——

I————The man.

The Beast—Shucks! They used to say I make the man.

I————You are not all dead.

The Beast—No, indeed. Sometimes I snarl and bite and intoxicate him with my breath.

I————In riots?

The Beast—In riots wild, debaucheries, debasing sport, and—and——

I————War?

The Beast—Ah, if there could be another war!

ARTHUR B. RHINOW.

The Meaning of Pacifism*

PAUL JONES

WHEN an admiral or even an ordinary citizen remarks: "The only thing some of these nations understand is the big stick"; when a person says of some offender: "He ought to be punished"; when it is suggested in regard to people of another race, "You've got to keep them in their place"; or when an industrialist insists upon the necessity for his autocratic control of the industrial process: the pacifist enters his emphatic dissent from such proposals, not only because they imply the use of methods which involve a disregard of personality and frequent injustices, but because they proceed from a view of life which he regards as fundamentally unsound and self defeating.

Of course the term "pacifism" has been applied to all sorts of people who would not accept any such description of it. Under its shade have been grouped social radicals who oppose international or capitalistic war, but who are quite ready to fight the class war. Those who refuse to take part in killing but who have little conception of, or interest in, brotherhood, those who are willing to work for peace but who will engage in war when it comes, and even those who believe that the best way to make peace is by the war method. If they want the term they are quite welcome to it, for the purpose of this article is in no sense an effort to read them out of the company of orthodox pacifists. Most of them probably would be glad to be relieved of the label; but in any case the aim here is not to develop an exclusive definition of pacifism, but to present the background of the idea in its aspect of a coherent, well rounded approach to life rooted in recognized principles.

Pacifism, then, I would call an attitude to life arising from a belief in human capacity for social action, which stresses the importance of the reaction of person upon person and group upon group, and which consequently uses only methods calculated to evoke co-operative action in seeking to achieve a progressive integration of life in every field of human relations.

Essentially the thing is not negative, although many people who do not understand it suppose that it is. They think of pacifism as a dogmatic and fanatical opposition to war or to methods of violence. They see pacifists opposing big navies and small navies, military training and conscription, economic imperialism and exploitation of labor, aspects of our penal system and racial segregation; and without realizing that those activities are the outcome of a view of human relations completely different from the one commonly accepted, they come to the conclusion that the pacifist is just a soft headed, well meaning kicker. They do not inquire as to why the pacifist has taken the stand he has, and perhaps he is at fault for not making clearer the springs of his action; but the fact remains that the issue is between two fundamentally conflicting views of life. The pacifist has back of him a well-grounded theory of human relations, and although the present dominance of a different theory forces him into the attitude of a critic of current policies, he is in reality much more of an advocate of a constructive program than the usual defender of things as they are.

THE recognition of the value of personality is one of the points at which the pacifist begins. Does anyone know just what personality is? It is one of those elusive things that defy definition just as life does; but just as we continue to live and know something of life's manifestations without being able to define it, so we know that we are persons and we are beginning to know more about the way persons behave although still awaiting an adequate definition. Personality is what gives life its meaning and dignity. Life itself may be sacred so that it should not be taken or even given lightly, but I have to admit that the importance of the mere matter of physical existence does not stir me greatly. And I am less impressed where I see it being emphasized at the expense of those qualities of self respect, moral responsibility and the creative urge which give life a real significance and redeem it from being merely physical. Those are the things which society should value and foster, yet when our current methods treat men as cannon fodder, as tools in the industrial machine, or as impersonal units grouped under some racial label, we do violence to the significance of personality and squander our richest social asset.

There is another side to this matter of personality also. An automobile will not snap back at you if you do not handle it properly, but a man will. Human reactions are of tremendous importance, for irrespective of race, culture, nationality, education or religion, men react to the way they are approached either antagonistically or co-operatively, reluctantly or enthusiastically. Salesmanship has recognized this and has patiently studied the methods of evoking the kind of

* This is the opening article in a discussion of Pacifism. Ten others will appear in the next few months.

response that is desired. In industry, personnel management is beginning to recognize its importance so far as individuals are concerned but has not yet applied the principle to labor organization. When, however, we turn to the more important matter of dealing with other races and other nations, the almost universal custom is to ignore utterly the fact that they are made up of persons who will react to the way they are approached. In those fields people blindly hope, against all experience, that the factor of human reactions can be ignored. The pacifist believes that there, too, the methods we use will determine the results that we get.

It is more, too, than merely taking people as they are and trying to get the best results with them. Just as the biologist in experimenting with plants or animals to produce more useful types works to encourage and develop the favorable strains and let the unfavorable ones become recessive, the pacifist would do the same. Where now, in our organization of society, we so generally put a premium on selfishness, greed and the antagonistic spirit, rewarding the man who develops those antisocial tendencies and thus establishing more firmly the divisive and combative elements in human nature, the pacifist would seek to reorganize our social machinery so as to draw upon the co-operative and friendly capacity of human beings, thus giving such qualities a greater chance to find expression in our common life and acquire a more dominant place in the society of the future.

IN spite of all the conflicting theories of human origins and social development, it seems to be perfectly clear that the human race is one. Dr. Arthur Keith, President of the Royal Anthropological Institute, in his book *The Antiquity of Man* says: "We all agree that modern human races, however different they may appear, are so alike in the essentials of structure that we must regard them as well-marked varieties of a common species." That is a sufficient fact to rest the case upon. The differences in race and culture, in nationality and economic organization which separate human groups may and do present real difficulties in working out a harmonious world life, but they can only obscure and not invalidate the view that it is only when we base our thinking and planning upon the essential unity of the race that we are upon sound ground.

The history of the world has been so much the story of the continuous impact of one racial group upon another, their intermixture and development, and the rise of modern nations has been so recent and fluctuating a thing, that one who has any concern for the probable developments of the future cannot be satisfied to think and plan simply in terms of his own particular country. Thus the pacifist, instead of being indifferent to the call of his nation, recognizes that he will serve it best when he strives to bring it into a closer unity with those other groups which make up the human family. That is its ultimate goal, which he feels the call to serve, rather than those influences which mistakenly, though perhaps honestly, are striving to perpetuate the antisocial ideals of nationalism.

ONE of these days some one will attempt an examination of the tremendous set-back to the social development of the world that has been given by the form in which the evolutionary idea has been popularly accepted. It will be an interesting study, for there is little doubt that an overemphasis on the struggle for existence and on the survival of the fittest has given a decided impetus to the competitive idea in industry, the laissez faire doctrine in commerce and imperialism among the nations. Modern evolutionists, however, are giving more and more emphasis to that aspect of the doctrine which stresses the fact that the survival of certain species has been due to their ability to adapt themselves to the requirements of a changing environment. Those that were too firmly habituated to ways that may once have been suitable but which ceased to meet the demands put upon them simply pass out of the picture. Those that were able to develop characteristics and habits better adapted to changed climatic conditions and altered food supply survived. In a word, ability to co-operate with environment was the determining factor in the situation.

Such a view does not alter the facts of the matter but merely appraises them from a new angle. It is, however, an angle which is of vital importance where men—as they invariably will—begin to reason from that evolutionary process to their own best line of development. If, as seems to be suggested by this view of the process, the co-operative element is a primary one, standing ground for the idea that human life must be organized around a principle of strife will be completely removed, and it will be seen that the pacifist is upon a solid foundation in insisting that life must be organized around the co-operative principle if it is to survive. Those who are telling us that unless we destroy war war will destroy us are, although they may not always realize it, really emphasizing the impossibility of a social order based on strife, for war is simply the logical outcome of the combative way of life.

LESS tangible and less easily appraised but of even greater significance are the roots of pacifism in the spiritual view of life. At the heart of Jesus' description of God as father lies the essential element of a relationship with Him. In that relationship, however it may be interpreted, is the foundation of morality and the basis of human society. A few brief and fragmentary sentences will have to take the place of the adequate treatment the subject deserves, but

since the purpose of this article is not to convince but simply to suggest the basis for a point of view, perhaps that is all that is necessary.

The implications of the spiritual unity of the human race are more far reaching, from the pacifist point of view, than those of its physical unity. War, exploitation and other antisocial manifestations are a direct denial of that unity and a negation of the common fatherhood of God. On the other hand, the conception of that fatherhood as a creative power striving to bring men into deeper relationships means that when one throws his energies into activities and purposes which aim to give expression to that essential unity he has working with him all the spiritual resources of the universe. It is not to be wondered at that the conscientious objector, or anyone else, who has taken a stand against activities or practices which are a denial of that spiritual unity, has a power and influence out of all proportion to his individual importance.

God's method of dealing with the human race, so far as one can judge from Jesus and from the experience of those who have entered most deeply into an understanding of His ways, is not to drive, compel or force men into conformity with His will or to punish them where they refuse, but to seek with a loving patience to win them to a recognition of their true relationship to Him. With the example of Jesus giving Himself without stint or limit to express His sense of His solidarity with both men and God, the pacifist feels that in endeavoring to use the same methods he is on sure ground here as well. Love and sacrifice as redemptive forces in the world are too deeply imbedded in both the nature of God and the constitution of humanity to be ignored in those phases of human relations which are most in need of reclamation.

SUPPOSE we try to sum the matter up in briefer form. The pacifist is essentially interested in bringing into being a better ordered, more harmonious world where men may have the best chance to come to their full development and have their needs both physical and spiritual met. Many others, including many religious folk, social reformers and adherents of certain radical social philosophies, however, share that aim. But it separates him from those who are primarily interested in their own welfare or that of their group and also those who are committed to the maintenance of things as they are in the church, industry, social order or state.

When it comes to the methods to be used in achieving that goal a further separation takes place. The pacifist believes that the means and the end are so intimately related that it is impossible to get a co-ordinated and co-operative world by destructive methods that violate personality and increase antagonism and distrust. He, therefore, cannot go with those who so emphasize the goal that they are ready to use any method in trying to reach it. He takes his stand on a conception of personality and the reactions of human nature which are ignored by those who would fight war with the war method or would try to rid the world of an exploiting system by using its own methods against it.

More important, however, than the fact that he is seeking a different goal from some and feels compelled to use different methods from others is his commitment to a way of life that in itself is creative of brotherhood and unity. To him, it is not just a casual choice between various interesting objectives in life or a matter of expediency in the methods to be followed. Behind all that is the urge to achieve a unity with the universe in which he lives and to build his life into a deepening harmony with all that is deepest and truest in this evolving world. In repudiating the machinery and methods of war and exploitation he is merely clearing the way for the far larger task of laying, stone by stone, the foundations of a friendly, co-ordinating society in which men will be united by common projects instead of being separated by competing fears. Only in so doing does he feel that he can be true to the spiritual forces of the universe.

Grounds for Pacifism

The following statement is one of a series we are reprinting from a symposium issued in England by the No More War Movement, giving reasons for faith in that movement's drastic opposition to war.

I think it was the poet Shelley who said in his "Queen Mab" that "War is a statesman's game and the priest's delight." The poet was not quite correct because statesmen can neither make wars nor priests pray for their success without the support of the people.

I have come to the conclusion, therefore, very definitely, that no Government can either declare a war or wage one unless public opinion is favorable. It is imperative, therefore, that all those who oppose wars should support any organized movement for peace; hence my reason for backing with all my heart the "No More War Movement" in this country.—RHYS J. DAVIES, M.P.

Grounds for Pacifism

The following statement is one of a series we are reprinting from a symposium issued in England by the No More War Movement, giving reasons for faith in that movement's drastic opposition to war.

Because it binds together those who are absolutely convinced that war under all circumstances is morally wrong; and because I believe that nothing less than this conviction, spreading from the few to the many in all nations, will rid the world of the appalling menace of further war.—EDWARD GRUBB, M.A., *Lecturer on Biblical History and Social Economics.*

Clippings

And Mars Laughed Too

Gentlemen, we are the last people in the world to be advocating anything in the way of force. We believe in peace. In the forty-nine years since I have been hooked up with the navy, I have either been in a war or getting ready for one. (Laughter.)

Rear Admiral Plunkett, before the National Republican Club, as quoted in the New York Times, *January 26, 1928.*

The Most Dangerous Rival

The gist of the matter lies in the fact that the dogma of nationalism, as it has developed in the last two centuries, has become a competing religion. I think it the most dangerous rival of Christian principles on earth. The crucial conflict today is not primarily Christianity versus Buddhism or Christianity versus Mohammedanism, but Christianity versus nationalism, and until one has clearly envisaged that fact one does not understand the crux of our situation.—*Harry Emerson Fosdick,* The Christian Century, *January 19, 1928.*

After Fifty Years in Military Service

Instead of preventing war, we know that preparations are apt to precipitate it. Never in history were preparations so complete or so widespread as during the fifty or sixty years previous to 1914, and yet never were wars so frequent as in that period.—*Field Marshal William Robertson,* The Christian Century, *February 2, 1928.*

Now Read On!

The Army and the Navy of the United States are in no sense militarists. They are Americans, who are doing their jobs earnestly, faithfully and efficiently. Happy is the country whose protection lies in the hands of such right-thinking men.—*Editorial,* The Army and Navy Journal, *February 4, 1928.*

As Left-Wing British Labor Sees It

The world can only be saved by the active participation of America in the practical problems of Arbitration and Disarmament. This must mean the entrance of the United States into the League of Nations. As yet American opinion is a long way from that conclusion, but its acceptance is a sine qua non for fruitful discussion of these issues which so vitally affect both the Old and the New World.—*Editorial,* The New Leader, *January 13, 1928.*

Safe and Sane

As I reflect upon the man of influence and "interest" in world peace, I pity him. His comfortableness is carrying him gradually out of life. He'll never die. He'll just slip out. He's slipping out now—*safely.*

When is a youth not a youth? When his motto in theory or practice is "Safe and Sane; don't scare the public; for nothing can be done until the next generation."—*Roswell P. Barnes, in* Youth (*England*), *December, 1927.*

Our readers are urged to send in significant "Clippings" from which we may make selections for future issues.

Alarmist Dangers

No one wants to live in a Fool's Paradise, but how far is peace promoted by dwelling on the perils of war? Evil prophecies have a terrible way of fulfilling themselves.—*H. W. Nevinson, in* The New Leader (*England*), *December 2, 1927.*

That Shocking Word

Into such ill-repute has the word patriot been brought that when one hears a man loudly proclaiming his patriotism one feels inclined to turn him over to the nearest policeman.—The New Student, *November 30, 1927.*

Actions Speak Louder

We are not a big bully among the other nations, but we are acting like one. We are not imperialistic, but we are creating that impression.—The Christian Leader, *January 14, 1928.*

Tagore on the Future of War

Today the fact of war is only too evident; but the feeling among a fairly large body of men that war is not good, even if "necessary," is inevitably working toward its removal. In the physical universe, man, in spite of his want of wings, ever dared to dream that he would fly through the air. That seemingly absurd wish has been fulfilled only because he continued to dare against a contradiction of congregated facts. Is it at all fair on man feebly to say, that this indomitable spirit of his will ever fail him in his great moral adventure, and that some of the things that are spiritually hurtful will never be vanquished? Those of us who dare express our faith in a future, containing a more humanly perfect social adjustment than now, from which the brute has been ostracized, are maturing that fulfillment every moment; and any mere negation of faith, however muscularly powerful for the moment, will never be able to resist its progress—for the truth in man, as distinguished from the animal, is moral; and that truth is eternal.

Rabindranath Tagore, in Foreign Affairs (*England*), *January, 1928.*

A Bouquet for the Author of "Mother India"

We should like to suggest to Miss Mayo that she write one more book, this time about America. We outline for her the following chapter headings:

"The Only Land Where Lynchings Occur"

"The Land of Marital Scandal—One Divorce to Every Seven Marriages"

"The Land of the Crime Wave—Armored Motors Necessary to Transport Payrolls"

"The Land of Industrial Strife—Incessant Strikes and Lockouts"

"Child Laborers—A Million and a Half No Older Than Thirteen—in the Richest Land in the World"

All the facts in this new book might be impeccably correct, but would it be a picture of America?

Samuel McCrea Cavert, in The Federal Council Bulletin, *December, 1927.*

Building Tomorrow's World

On Learning to Be Quiet—A Neglected Art

"BUILDING tomorrow's world" is a challenging phrase; fine in its suggestion of hope, stirring in its call to strenuous effort. In some moods we find that it suggests misgivings; it reminds one of prior questions. Do we know the kind of world that we would like to build if we could? Have we our plans drawn out and our estimates made? Have we thought enough about it? And beyond these questions there are others quite as disturbing. Given clearness of conception have we the strength and the resources for our tasks? Having counted the cost we may sometimes suspect that it goes beyond our means.

Facing these questions one is led, not to quarrel with the fine phrase which suggested them, but to mistrust the over-emphasis of our day on activity, and to mistrust the easy assumptions even of the idealist. There is something necessary beside doing, and it is that something other that we are inclined to overlook. Clear vision does not come as a rule in the rush of doing. Effective purpose is achieved on conditions and one of the chief conditions is largely neglected in our modern world. There is a phrase that comes to me from the past that haunts my mind. It recurs again and again, with a suggestion implicit, that we do not heed its counsel nor perhaps understand its import. It is a call to a kind of exercise which we are less familiar with, perhaps, than were those of an earlier day. Building tomorrow's world may demand recovering some things we have lost besides discovering some things never before found. This is the phrase that haunts me with a suggestion of rebuke, "Be still and know."

THERE is something rather striking in it, isn't there? It seems to cut across our usual conceptions. We speak of "the quest for truth," and we think of knowledge as something that must be sought if haply it may be found. We come to truth through activity, of mind and of spirit. Hard, eager, strenuous pursuit. These are the conditions of success. And that of course is true. It is a truth that has always needed emphasis and needs it still. There is a duty of strenuous thought, of ardent, unflagging pursuit! We must strive to find truth.

Do we realize sufficiently the other thing that is true? There is a knowledge that comes not from seeking but from waiting. Truth is not something merely that we find. It is something that now and again finds us. Something that would find us more frequently if we only permitted it to do so. If we give it a chance! Not always is it our part to follow the gleam; sometimes the light breaks in upon us and our part consists in giving it the opportunity to do so. "They that wait upon the Lord." "They also serve who only stand and wait." "Be still and know."

The quest of truth has, shall I say, its passive aspects. I don't like the word passive in that connection but I can think of no other. What I mean, however, is clear. Sometimes what we have to do is to be eager and strenuous in pursuit but to be receptive and hospitable; clearing away obstacles to the coming of the truth that is seeking us. What we have to do is not to go out into the night, but just open the door of our minds—the doors of being for the guest to enter in. And we have our word for that process. Meditation, as well as strenuous thought, is a condition of achievement in the world of reality. There are voices that come from the hid battlements of Eternity. Sometimes there is nothing so important as that we should listen—that we should find quiet and be quiet.

I suppose that we have, to some extent, lost our sense of the value of silence. We have perhaps lost the capacity for purposeful quiet. We get restless, if there is nothing doing. Charles Lamb could become almost lyric in describing a Quaker meeting, an old fashioned meeting where silence was the most characteristic mode of worship. He found the silence vocal with the whispering voices of unseen presences. I wonder would we have heard them? I wonder whether we ever do. With the great saints prayer has always meant communion rather than petition; and hearing,

in that exercise of the soul, has been more important than speaking. We are not good listeners in that sense any more. We have lost in some measure the capacity of listening to the voice of God. And still more we have ceased to listen for his voice. We are in danger of being found amongst those who think that they will be heard for their much speaking. In the Bible a characteristic prayer is that of Samuel, "Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth." It doesn't sound modern, does it?

The remarkable fact is this—the highest reaches as well as the profoundest deeps of truth do not seem to be discovered by striving. They are, shall I say, revealed, rather than found. That is the valuable and essential suggestion of the conception of inspiration. The poet in his most inspired moment feels not that he speaks but that something or someone speaks through him. He feels not that he is struggling to know but that he is in a sense possessed. Knowledge has come to him. There is a struggle indeed—but not so much to see as to express what is seen, not so much to find the truth as to clothe the truth that has come to him in words that are adequate. Somehow they never seem adequate. They never can be.

That is how the prophets felt. They didn't think of themselves as explorers in the world of reality. At least not often. The word of the Lord came. It burned in their bones until they had declared it. Indeed it seemed clear to them that the truth was borne in upon them rather than discovered by them. It was flashed into their consciousness. They felt that their message was not theirs. They said, "Thus saith the Lord." "The word of the Lord came," that is the characteristic phrase in the prophetic books. These prophets lived in a world of truth, it welled up all around them, now and again it broke through the barriers and flooded their whole being. Truth is not always something that we must find; sometimes it is something that finds us. Our task is to give it its opportunity.

In the greatest creative activities of human experience men and women feel that they are being used. They are instruments, vehicles, channels or at least that is how they feel. The greatest poems somehow seem to write themselves. George Matheson tells us how he wrote "Oh love that wilt not let me go." It came. He didn't feel that he had made that hymn. He just wrote it down. That is characteristic. The greatest music is produced in a kind of frenzy in which reason seems in abeyance. There is no effort; it comes! The masterpiece is produced when the artist feels pulsing and throbbing within him a life that transfuses his own. The people who do the greatest things are the people who feel that they have been mastered rather than that they have mastered something. They are gripped and held and used. The great truth comes. It is not found and held by the mind; it just uses the mind. It is not found by searching; it flashes upon men.

ISN'T it our experience, too, that now and again we are met as it were in our search—more than half way. An idea strikes us. That is how we put it in our colloquial language, isn't it? A light shines out, it falls upon us and we see. We don't feel that we are finding so much as that we are being shown. Our attention is called to something. And we see clearly where before we had been confused. Almost involuntarily we say, Why didn't I see that before? It is so clear now—why didn't I see it before? The problem is solved. We don't feel that we solved it. Somehow it happened. That is something like what the prophets felt. The truth came!

And the experience where that happens as a rule is what we call meditation. It isn't active search; it is laying oneself open to unseen influences. It is a listening attitude of the mind or of the spirit. We live in a world of spirit and the spirit seeks admittance into our lives. It knocks at the door. Our business is to hear, to respond, and to open. Truth is not now the good at which we aim. It is something in which we live and move and have our being. It is active, seeking a way into our minds. It wells up around us; it calls upon us. It is when we are quiet that it has a chance to make itself heard. It is in meditation that it finds opportunity to force itself upon our attention. It is then that we leave the latchstring out for angels to visit us.

The trouble is that we no longer find it easy to provide those conditions. We can do almost anything better than we can meditate. It is almost a lost art. We live in days of raging, tearing haste. We haven't time to think, not to speak of what is the most difficult kind of thought, meditation. We are busy making a living and forget that the most important thing is to learn to live. We are so concerned about the tasks and the duties of life that we rarely stop to consider the purpose of life. We haven't time. Says a modern writer, "what we call a busy life is very often really a busy death." Incessant activities, but activities that are depleting the resources of life, not enriching them! "Getting and spending we lay waste our powers." That, says Wordsworth, isn't life.

We live in a busy world. Modern civilization is a rush. People sometimes speak of having a hectic time. They don't realize how appropriate the adjective is. It means feverish. And that is just the word for so much of our activities. It isn't strenuous; it is feverish. There is always a suggestion of calm purpose in strenuousness; there never is in fever. These movements in which we are immersed whither are they making? This civilization, what is its real goal? We

are all doing something all the time; what is the thing that is really worth doing? We are so busy that we haven't time to ask ourselves that question; still less have we time to wait for the answer. Almost anything seems easier than meditation.

In one of his books H. G. Wells makes a character inveigh against this feverish, purposeless activity that surges all around him. So much effort and all of it ill-directed. "But" answers his friend, "one must do something." Trafford thought that over. "No," he said, "that is the universal blunder nowadays. One must do the right thing. And we don't know the right thing!" Does that touch the core of the matter? Living an active life is no advantage unless we know the things that are worth being active for—unless we have a real purpose. And unless we are quiet sometimes, reflective, meditative, thoughtful, we never will have a purpose worth anything.

I made a note of this quotation sometime ago. I have forgotten where it came from even. But it seems profoundly true. "The mightiest destinies of man are wrought precisely when he is at a standstill. When he, as it seems, is doing nothing, it is precisely then that the Something outside him takes a hand and does all." Something outside him! It is a sense of that "Something" that we are in danger of losing. The old phrase is good enough—it is the sense of God which we are in danger of losing—the consciousness of purpose, of a goal, of a meaning in life. It isn't that we are baffled by the question as to what life means. We are too busy to be bothered by it. "In quietness shall be your strength." How that cuts athwart the strident fretfulness of our day. "Be still and know—" we haven't time!

There is something that is worth doing, something worth knowing, something which can complete life and satisfy us. We don't know what it is. We must find it. We are proceeding on the assumption that life can be lived without thought, without plan, without reflection. It can't. The Greeks had a phrase which is full of meaning. They spoke of "the art of life." An art is something that has to be learned before it can be practiced. It implies a theory, a certain set of definite principles which have to be apreciated and understood before the art can be mastered. Life has its theory, its principles, its meaning, and you can't really live if you have no understanding of them. Its principles must be understood if the art of life is to be mastered. You can exist without understanding of course; but living is something more than existence. "With all thy getting," said the preacher "get wisdom." How can we if we never reflect upon life, never think, never find time to be quiet? That is why life is superficial, incoherent, haphazard. Lacking meaning and aim it becomes hurried, fussy, a feverish round. A busy death!

You remember what Jesus did with the disciples. When they and he were most busy, pressed and thronged by clamoring need, he said, "Come ye apart and rest awhile." He took them into the wilderness. He took them away from activity to meditation, from incessant doing to quiet reflection. Of course he was wise. He knew the deadly peril of superficial activity. He didn't want these men to be busy people who were too busy to think about aims and purposes.

I imagine he invites us in this generation as he invited those friends of his in the days of long ago. We may be so immersed in the clamour of the world that we don't hear his voice, so insensitive that we never receive the invitation not to speak of responding to it. Is it surprising that we are confused, rather distracted, inclined to be superficial? Life becomes cheap and tawdry. We are in danger of missing "the many splendoured thing," in danger of losing God and of losing life.

> If the chosen soul had never been alone
> In deep mid-silence open-doored to God
> No greatness ever had been dreamed or done.

The quest for truth demands something more than effort, however strenuous it may be. Truth is seeking us more earnestly than we are seeking it, however strenuous our quest. It knocks at the door. We do not seek wisely if we do not provide the conditions for it to come in. We are not fair to truth herself if we never wait for her to unveil her face. "Be still and know."

And oh, the obstacles that have to be removed! How fast closed is the door, sometimes barred and bolted and hinges rusty from disuse! Prejudices accumulate, we become intellectually inhospitable. It is important that we should seek truth, quite as important that we should welcome her. Important that we should pursue, quite as important that we should be hospitable. We must go out as Abraham went, "not knowing whither he went." We must wait, too, not knowing what may come. If we wait aright some day we shall welcome angels unawares.

And then we shall see, much more clearly than now we see, the kind of world that we want to build and the kind of life that is worth living!

DAVID BRYN-JONES

Some Moral Values in Soviet Russia

L. L. DUNNINGTON

THERE are those who think that everything and everybody connected with the "Reds" is bad. A large section of our press seems so to believe, and undoubtedly there is much of a negative character that may be claimed with truth. The Communist's philosophy is thoroughly materialistic and all members of the party are atheists! Those two counts alone are knockouts.

On the other hand, I have recently revisited the Russian Soviet Republic and have seen much of the highest moral value, paradoxical as that may seem. And since Russia, the largest country in the world, is destined to play a stellar role in all international relationships of the future, it behooves us to lay prejudice aside and to try to evaluate justly what its people are attempting to accomplish.

THERE are three great Youth organizations. The Komsomol is for youths from sixteen to twenty years of age, and there are two million of them. There are likewise about two million Pioneers, eleven to sixteen years of age, and some seven hundred thousand Octobers, seven to eleven years old.

A visit to Komsomol headquarters in Moscow was most rewarding. These keen, courteous young men had facts and figures at their finger ends. The purpose of their organization? There were four phases of it. First, to train all members to be living examples to all other Russian youth of what an upstanding, self-controlled young man or woman should be. Second, to make intelligent Communists out of them. Third, to emphasize constantly that international-mindedness must supersede national-mindedness. And fourth, to see that every member was constantly engaged in some form of social service, failing which he was expelled from the organization.

Asked what they meant by social service, they said that much of their work was concerned with the training of the younger groups, the Pioneers and Octobers. Later, at a Pioneer camp we saw them in action. There were about two hundred youngsters there receiving instruction. I asked a group if they smoked. They promptly and emphatically replied that they did not; when pressed for a reason one of them said that they must keep their bodies strong so as to be ready to help free the workers of the world from industrial tyranny. That from a lad of twelve! Asked if they believed in God, a whole group of them answered in chorus, "No!" "The priests lie to the people," said a little thirteen-year-old girl beside me. "They have helped the Czar to keep the people ignorant and docile with superstitions. The church is the enemy of the people and there isn't any God." Of course, her indictment of the church was only too true and much of the atheism in that unhappy land must be laid at the door of the Greek Orthodox Church.

It was an amazing discovery to find that the Komsomol Youth print eighty-six newspapers in Russia with a circulation of about 750,000. The "Komsomol Pravda," published in Moscow, has a circulation of 150,000. It is their largest newspaper.

THE careful inspection of any of the factories in Russia is very illuminating for a study of "moral values." The "Three Mountains Textile Factory" in Moscow is as good as any to study present conditions because it is neither one of the best nor the worst. It is average. "The 7,500 men and women who work here," said the general manager, "have no worries about sickness, accident, unemployment, or old age." Two weeks' annual vacation at a country "Rest Camp" with all expenses is also provided. Later we visited one of these camps about forty miles out of Moscow. Situated among tall, fragrant pines on the banks of a beautiful river were rows of comfortable summer cabins. In the center of the camp was a huge pavilion for the regular programs of afternoon and evening. There were nearly 2,000 happy men and women in this camp, singing the praises of a government that was looking after their interests. Formerly the wealthy and titled gentry had used these same grounds for their vacations.

But to get back to our factory. About half the workers are women. All expectant mothers are released from work two months before and after child birth. They receive free medical attention and, if they need it, a bundle of swaddling clothes. When a mother finally returns to work, she is not in debt, because her wages do not stop. She brings her baby to the nursery with her every morning and leaves it with a trained nurse. After working for three hours, she takes a two-hour rest and nurses the baby at the nursery.

We asked if there was any difference in the treatment of married and unmarried mothers. "Absolutely none," said our guide, "and there are no illegitimate children in Russia. Every child has a right to as many advantages in society as every other child, no matter what the circumstances of his birth." That, too, was food for thought.

There were no children at work in this factory. Our

guide looked pleased when we asked him about it. "Our government does not believe in child labor," he said. "No child in all Russia under fourteen years of age is allowed to work in a factory. Those between fourteen and eighteen years can work but half the time, for the other half must be spent in school."

Every factory of any size represents a little community all by itself. This one contains a library of 40,000 volumes, a big theatre, several orchestras, club rooms of every description, and class rooms where the workers take evening courses of one kind or another. A new building going up near by and costing about one million dollars was to be the new social service center.

In the evening we attended a football game in company with some 3,000 employees and watched their team defeat another factory's team amid wildest enthusiasm. The young man sitting next to me remarked that such fun as that was something new for the workers of his country.

WE were especially interested in what had been happening to the church during the past decade. When the Bolsheviki decreed that church and state should henceforth be separate and withdrew all financial support from the church, many thought that the deathknell of organized Christianity in Russia had been sounded. I remember that vast throng of 100,000 people in Moscow who marched behind the priests from hundreds of churches all day long on a February day in 1918. It was a protest against the separation of church and state. The weather was sub-zero, but everyone marched bareheaded. When I attempted to put my own hat on, I was nearly mobbed. "But I am catching cold," I said, "and will die of pneumonia." "No, you won't," they said; "this is a Holy Crusade and God won't let anybody catch cold."

The withdrawal of that support meant poverty and starvation to many of the clergy. Furthermore, there were several years of fierce and bitter persecution for both clergy and church attendants. Many churches closed their doors for a time. But out of it all a few men caught a new vision. A reform movement started within the church. The church's responsibility in the building of a new social order and the necessity of ridding itself of the corruption and superstition of the ages began to dawn in the minds of some of the clergy.

Then in 1923 Bishop Blake and Dr. L. O. Hartman of the Methodist Episcopal Church went to Moscow and heard a pitiful story. They agreed with the leaders of the reform movement that the one crying need in the church was a theological seminary where young priests could be trained along modern lines. These two men returned to America and made a plea for help. They raised $25,000, which they turned over to the reform leaders for the establishment of the school. Be it said to the everlasting credit of these men, they tied no strings to their gift. They did not try to make Methodists out of these Russians nor did they seek any ecclesiastical advantages of any kind. That gift from one great branch of the Christian Church to another branch of a very dissimilar character was worthy of the finest traditions of Christian history.

I sought an interview with the dean of that school and some of his students. The dean told of the progress of the new and modern school as well as of the heartbreaking struggle with poverty. In a class of twenty-five in New Testament Greek, they had but two books. The boys themselves had no money with which to buy anything. They lived in the towers on the Kremlin walls or in damp basements. Those towers were never meant for human habitation. The only inhabitants for centuries have been cobwebs and rats. Light and air are admitted through slits three inches wide and two feet long.

I visited one of the basements where thirty-five of these young men live. There were two medium sized rooms down there with very little light. The cots had no mattresses and very little bedding and the men slept in their clothes. There were no closets or shelves. The only clothes these men possessed were on their backs.

Along one wall was a long table made of rough boards and flanked by two long backless benches. On one end were some knives and forks and dishes and a samovar. On the other end stood a lamp. The boys got their own meals, but what meals! Black bread that had been dried for pig feeding, ground up and made into soup. Only now and then they can afford meat in the soup.

One of the boys was in this "dormitory" studying when I called. I remarked that the place looked pretty tough and that I didn't see how they could do effective work. I shall never forget the expansive smile that covered his face as he replied, "Oh, that's all right—we don't think of this dreary hole because we are always thinking of what lies before us, the great task of reforming our own church, of preaching a social gospel."

As I listened to that young man, hungry and ragged as he was, describe what he and his colleagues expected to accomplish for their people, I suddenly realized that the Revolution had not destroyed the church as its leaders hoped it would. The Bolshevik Revolution saved the church in Russia! Persecution has always worked in just that way. The Soviets understand that now and that is why they have stopped all active religious persecution.

JUST a word further about the Communists who have brought such signal changes within a decade. They are almost puritanical in their standards. They promise never to accept more than $3.75 a day in

salary. That is what Lenin lived on. Even at the height of his power he lived in two little rooms as simply as he had lived while in exile. The Bolsheviki know that wealth saps the vital forces of life and creates class distinctions. They are through with class distinctions and have pledged themselves to virtual poverty in order to insure themselves against the subtle inroads of the affluent life.

Although the average citizen can get a divorce over there in five minutes' time and I have seen some of them divorced in less time than that, it is not so with a Communist. There must be no loose living, no party scandals. If he wants a divorce, he must ask his party about it and unless his case is pretty clear, he will not get it.

It is not wise to get drunk, either, for a party rebuke is sure to follow. And woe betide the man caught accepting "influence money" or graft of any kind. He is just as liable to be shot as not. At least it means expulsion from the party, which is considered an indelible blot of shame.

These godless men have abolished all modern dancing, naming especially such "fat American bourgeois dances" as the black bottom, shimmy, turkey trot, and Charleston. When I asked some young people if they didn't miss these dances, they replied that they did not—that they considered them very bad. They preferred their folk dances.

Likewise the newsstands have been cleaned up. In other capitals of Europe one can buy the most vile, salacious sex literature and photographs. Out of the twelve countries visited this summer, Russia was the only one where that sort of thing was not to be found. And yet ten years ago, Moscow and Petrograd were two of the worst offenders in this regard.

I HOLD no particular brief for the Bolsheviki. But I do think it time that we attempt to understand what they are trying to accomplish and to give them due credit for the moral values which they are attempting to conserve.

Three Months Among the Soviets

JOSEPH I. CHESKIS

I SPENT three months in Russia. I visited cities, towns, villages and country places. I possess a good knowledge of the Russian language and was able to communicate freely with the inhabitants. I mingled with all sorts of people: teachers, workers, peasants, former bourgeois, government officials and professionals. I frequented the homes of my relatives and former friends and participated in their interminable discussions and tea drinkings. I was a mere visitor, a teacher spending his vacation in Russia, and could therefore go unnoticed wherever I pleased. Thus I had unlimited opportunities for observing, studying and comparing.

The Soviet system is firmly entrenched; the Soviets have come to stay. The most insignificant peasant community has its Soviet and will not part with it. It regulates the economic and social life of the community, attends to local problems and grievances, fosters a sense of self-reliance, gives concrete content to the idea of self-government, and passes resolutions on international relations. This latter is not intended as irony. It may appear ridiculous for an insignificant community in the backwoods of the Ukraine to censure England for her oppression of the Chinese or to call upon the Haitians to overthrow the yoke of the imperialistic foreigner. It is not as absurd as it sounds. Through such resolutions the peasant is taught to think in terms of humanity as a whole; he begins to conceive of his community as a part of mankind. With the aid of the radio, the movie, the spoken newspaper, this is accomplished far more rapidly than we might suppose.

The elections to the Soviets in the villages are comparatively free. The local party would hardly dare to put forward a slate unacceptable to the majority of the peasants. The communists quietly remove from the list of candidates the name of the one to whom the peasants are opposed and substitute a name whose candidacy would meet with universal approval. In matters of local significance the Soviet has complete freedom of deliberation and action. In the towns, and especially in the larger cities, the elections are pretty well controlled by the local communist nuclei. And the non-party candidates who are allowed to run for office must do the bidding and carry out the instructions of their communist colleagues. There is thus but very little opposition to the Soviet system.

THE extreme swing to the left in Russia has completely justified itself. There is very little of communism in Russia, but there is also very little left of the old order. The Bolsheviks have not succeeded in establishing the kingdom of heaven on earth, but they did do away completely with the old reign of hell in Russia. Everyone is a citizen, if not a comrade. It is already becoming difficult for the new generation to realize that a man can carry a higher

dignity than that of citizen. The future historian will have to credit the Bolsheviks with at least this much, that they have splendidly fulfilled their role of undertakers. They have buried the old system so deeply that it will never come back to life again. And that is quite an achievement.

The extreme swing to the left was useful in yet another way. The common people in Russia, the workingmen and the peasants, had been so accustomed to a role of servile humility that cringing became a second nature with them. "One sees certain wild animals, males and females, spread over the country, black, livid, and totally sunburned, attached to the ground, which they dig and hoe with an invincible stubbornness; they seem to possess an articulate voice, and when they stand up they show a human face; and indeed they are humans." This description by La Bruyere of the French peasant of the seventeenth century is no distorted portrait of the Russian peasant of the pre-revolutionary period. And where there is no sense of human dignity, growth, moral or intellectual, is impossible. The Bolshevist revolution has upset the old values and placed the peasants and workers on top of the social ladder. The thing that surprised me most agreeably in Russia was to see the change that has taken place in the psychology of the peasant. He is indeed unrecognizable: stands straight, looks you straight in the face, and speaks to you man to man. He has developed a sense of his own importance and human worth. You can actually see him grow mentally day by day. It is no small achievement to have turned into human beings more than one hundred million beasts of burden. I was not so favorably impressed by the city worker, although (or should I say, because) he is at present the aristocrat of Russia. He is beginning to display the trait which is so disgusting in every parvenu, namely, haughtiness. To work with one's hands is no mean occupation, perhaps even something to be proud of, but so is every other human exertion which aims at individual or social development. But in Russia it is the factory worker who is considered and is beginning to consider himself the salt of the earth. And salt, although a necessary seasoning, is in itself not particularly tasty. It may be only a temporary phenomenon, but the "aristocracy" of the city worker, aristocracy in the sense of snobbishness and haughtiness, is decidedly noticeable in Russia.

THE most unique feature of the Bolshevist government is the fact that it is steadily proclaiming and stressing its temporary character. In their speeches, radio talks, pamphlets and newspaper articles the Bolsheviks continually stress the fact that the dictatorship of the proletariat is only a temporary phase in the struggle for emancipation and that their ultimate aim is communism. The Bolshevist government is the only existing government that professes a faith, that has an ideal and that is doing its utmost to have the light of its ideal penetrate widely and deeply into the masses.

THERE is a good deal of unemployment, poverty and misery in Russia. Cripples and beggars of both sexes are infesting the streets of every city and town. Bands of homeless, ragged and diseased children are seen everywhere. The houses are unsanitary and overcrowded: four to six people occupying the same room. Wages are low and the cost of living is comparatively high. Schools are insufficient in number and the teachers earn a miserable salary of thirty to fifty rubles a month. There are too many government officials and the administrative machinery is inefficient to a degree unknown in any other civilized country. Sinecures abound and bureaucrats are crowding out the sincere and efficient workers. The government is, however, aware of all those evils and is fighting them vigorously. Furthermore, the revolution is but of yesterday and a social system cannot be changed in less than a decade. The Soviet government was faced with a herculean task after the World war, the civil war, the blockade and the great hunger. Russia was never a highly developed industrial country, but by these disasters it was practically reduced to primitive forms of production and distribution. The Soviet government had to reestablish the shattered industries, communication, the water works, etc. And that with no capital and but few skilled workers. Had our government recognized Russia and extended aid in the form of credits to the Soviet industries, the task would have been lighter and progress more rapid. All in all the Soviets have staged a miraculous comeback and are looking hopefully into the future.

Museum Piece

NO more the ancient monsters in their pride
Trample the earth with thunder in their tread.
The great beasts and the little beasts have fled
And all their horns and tusks are laid aside.
There was a swamp where mighty lizards stumbled
And many a dull, unwieldy victim bled.
Now the fierce conquerors themselves are dead
And even their ponderous bones to dust are crumbled.

And kings have died and left no sons behind them
And noble towns have fallen in decay
In desert wastes where never a man will find them
Though he should seek them till the judgment day.
The kings of men and kings of lizards lie
In peace, forgotten, as the years roll by.

GORDON LAWRENCE

The Tragedy of the British Empire

N. B. PARULEKAR

EVERYWHERE in India in the wake of the Simon Commission there is public agitation comparable to the recent nationalist movement in China or the crisis that awaited England in Egypt in 1920, when the British decided to send the Milner Commission to Egypt against the will of the people. The lines of disagreement between India and England were never before so clearly marked nor the goal pursued with such determination. All political groups have joined to fight the Commission, which to their mind is the latest example of British imperialism in India. The Moderates, the Swarajists, the Progressives, in fact all parties and groups, have forgotten their differences in a common cause. On the other hand, the British are showing equal unity and persistence in pushing this Commission through. The Conservatives, the Liberals, and even Labor have unanimously supported the Commission. As Lord Birkenhead said, "not one dissentient" vote was cast in either Houses of Parliament in challenge of the composition of the Commission. All negotiations having failed, the two countries have apparently decided to measure their strength. The Simon Commission has reached India and with it have started the troubles of the British. Sir Leslie Wilson, the Governor of Bombay, has very aptly called the Commission a "Pandora's Box"!

My intention is not to forecast future developments but rather to present the point of view of the two warring parties. Heated words, exaggerations and passionate feelings on both sides were to be expected. But to understand the material factors as apart from mere sentiment one has to go a little further. In appointing a purely British committee and in wholly excluding the Hindus, Messrs. Baldwin, Birkenhead and the protagonists of the British plan presented "reasons" which were puerile and unnecessarily provocative of race feelings. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald has pointed out that "when the Prime Minister made his first announcement of the intention of the Government to set up this commission and so begin the inquiry into the Indian Constitution, he did so in words that conveyed the maximum of suspicion and the minimum of confidence." Much has been said since in England in Parliament and press of exactly the same nature. It does not clarify the issues though it betrays the mental attitude of the people using such language. It is necessary here to touch one or two points helpful in understanding the situation.

Consider, for instance, the position of Labor, i.e., the British Parliamentary Labor Party headed by Mr. MacDonald. It is well intentioned but lacks the necessary power to back up its views. When we remember the difficulties and fierceness of the fight of Labor with Capital at home, we may imagine what the fight against the Capital of its country abroad will involve, namely, a general readjustment of the whole economic organization of Great Britain and all that goes with such a reconstruction. This is too much to expect from British Labor at present.

That is why the policies of British Labor have been weak and vacillating and largely in agreement with the Conservative policies. The manipulation of the Blackpool resolution by Labor leaders to suit the present Conservative Government's attitude toward India is a splendid example. For that reason the Trade Union Congress of India has broken away from British Labor in declaring for a general boycott of the Commission. If "there is, therefore, a grim disappointment in the present division of opinion between the party and the spokesmen of Indian nationalism," as Mr. MacDonald has expressed, the disappointment is mutual though the division is inevitable.

AS regards the personnel of the Commission itself the less said the better. All these gentlemen may be good Englishmen but they possess no special qualifications to be members or "jury," to use Birkenhead's words, in an Indian investigation. If they are going to India "without any preconceived ideas" it may be because they are so completely uninformed on matters pertaining to India. With the exception of Sir John Simon, the Commission is best described in the words of the *Morning Post,* a leading Conservative paper: "Colonel Lane-Fox, who happens to be the brother-in-law of the Viceroy, and Cadogan, both have the confidence of the Conservative Party. Lord Strathcona will gather valuable elements for a useful career from this experience, and as for Lord Burnham, no imperial tour would be quite complete without him—at least on the ceremonial side. Mr. Stephen Walsh and Major Attlee are both such good Englishmen that we often wonder how they contrive to remain in the Labor Party." Since then these two Labor members were replaced by two others of their party.

India is not asking for a Royal Commission as a substitute for the present Statutory Commission. The complaint of the Indian Nationalists is that the present commission is not different from a royal commission. Such a commission, be it royal or parliamentary in its origin or composition, is equally alien and has

no right to be the sole judge of matters pertaining to Indian freedom. Dr. Ansari, the president of the Indian National Congress, has clearly stated the position: "Unless a round table conference on which British and Indian statesmen would participate as plenipotentiaries is invited, or at least a commission with a majority of Indians on equal terms is set up, we cannot conscientiously take any part or share in the work of the Commission."

THIS arbitrary action of an alien power has brought all parties and shades of opinion together in one united opposition. "No Indian political party," declared Mr. Ramanand Chatterji, "admits the right of the British Parliament, or, for that matter, any other foreign body, to set itself up as a judge of our fitness for self-rule." It is, in fact, the principle of self-determination versus alien domination. During the stress of the Great War when India contributed nearly a million men and millions of rupees and when the British Imperial Government was in need of more, Lloyd George, the then Prime Minister, declared that the principle of self-determination is applicable also to tropical countries. Post-war history has shown abundantly that that declaration was more a war measure than a peace policy. As soon as England felt secure after the war it resumed the same old theory of British responsibilities and British trusteeship in India, and the so-called Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were "granted" in that spirit. The result was the famous non-cooperation movement and had not Mahatma Gandhi, because of his opposition to the use of violence, called a voluntary halt, the theory of trusteeship would have been exploded long ago.

This was the second chapter in India's struggle for freedom, the first having preceded the World War by some eight years. For a time both sides, the Nationalists and the Bureaucracy, were left exhausted. Shorn of their prestige, bewildered by new reforms which they dared not yet denounce openly, the Bureaucracy in India and its backers in the British Government stirred up internal differences, championed the so-called minorities' interests, tried to placate the moderates and make friends with them and governed largely by "certification" rather than by the will of people. When the internal differences, especially among the Hindus and Mohammedans, began to reappear, the British apparently regained once more a sense of security—whether true or false, only coming events will show.

Even a casual reading of English papers and English speeches on India reflects this sense of security for British rule based on internal differences and so-called minority rights. Thus when Lord Birkenhead repeats before the House of Lords: "Do you desire that the British Army should be withdrawn from India? Do you desire that the Civil Service should be withdrawn from India? Do you desire that the protection of the British Navy should be withdrawn from Indian shores?" the obvious answer expected from the British people is "No." He tells them that he himself has met many Indians but has "never found one" hostile to the British occupation. How pathetically ignorant or wilfully indifferent must be this Secretary of State for India of the sentiment of the Indian people! Within a few weeks the Indian National Congress in its Madras Session declared flatly that the goal of the Indian people is complete independence! Thanks to Mahatma Gandhi and the recent unity conference welding together the two major groups of India, the country is more united today than ever before.

THE real question is, How far will the British Government, of its own free will, let India have a free hand in her own affairs. On this matter the Indian national leaders have no illusions and the British have no doubts. They know full well that the present economic system of Great Britain and the present stability of the Empire would be unfavorably affected by measures making India free from imperial servitude. In other words, how will England be able to keep its hold on the Empire if India is free? The Sunday *Times,* in approving of the Commission, puts this question in these words: "Our rule in India is a keystone of the whole Imperial structure and could not be loosened without a catastrophe that would reverberate throughout Asia and Europe."

Whether India wants absolute independence or will be satisfied with colonial self-government is merely a wordy discussion. Could India refuse to send her armies to defend British interests in China as did Australia recently? Could she decline to join arms with England as did Canada when England declared war upon Turkey? If India has that much freedom in her policies the people of India would gladly remain in the British Empire. What is in the British mind, however, is not so much what will happen to India (for nothing comparably untoward will happen to India), but what will happen to the Empire. One need not brand the British as extraordinarily selfish, it is enough to recognize that they are as cautious as any other people under similar circumstances, and modestly desirous of preserving what they have already made.

Thus it is not so much the political mind of India that has been "untouched by new ideas for a generation," but rather the commercial mind in England that has been roused and strengthened by generations of rivalry. The ideology of the East India Company and its historians still persists. Even before the Commission was sent, Sir Worthington Evans, British War Secretary, was dispatched to India to confer with the war lords of Delhi in working out projects of making

India the Imperial military base for future wars. With Singapore as naval base and India as military base the "dependency" of India is secured and the entire far-flung British Empire in Asia and Africa is well guarded. Add to this what Mr. Lloyd George calls the "Steel Frame" of the Empire, the Civil Service—which in reality is neither civil nor service. What the Britishers fail to recognize is the strength of certain forces rapidly developing during the last twenty-five years which will eventually wipe out every vestige of "dependency" from the soil of India.

How India is going to free herself from the tentacles of this octopus is a story that must be left for the future. The best minds of India have devoted themselves to this supreme question and if they resort to non-cooperation it is not as "swear language" but as the most effective technique. Passing through several phases of political hit and miss methods they have fashioned this weapon. The present conservative Government is trying to show to the world that the nationalist movement in India is a wordy agitation of a minority of the people. They want to see how much of public "sanction" is behind it. Pandit Malviya, the founder of the Benares Hindu University and an outstanding public leader for over forty years, warns his countrymen in these words: "The world will now wait to see how Indian steel will meet this latest onslaught of British steel." They are determined to postpone the day of the establishment of full responsible government in India as long as they can. Under these circumstances India is propounding the doctrine of political self-help. It is neither "swear language" nor something concocted by brainy Indian politicians for "home consumption." It is the spectacle of a giant nation calling on its latent forces to defend its honor. Call it by any name—non-cooperation, boycott, Satyagriha, or passive resistance. In reality, it is the rumbling of a coming revolution in India.

In the "Detention Room" at Seattle

YÜ-SHAN HAN

Part I. Waiting in the Detention Room.

I have fulfilled all the requirements and have gone through all the red-tape that is necessary for entering the United States of America as a post-graduate student:

A certificate from the Board of Education of the Chinese government.

A medical certificate from both American and British doctors.

A passport from the Special Commissioner of Foreign Affairs at Tientsin.

Twenty dollars paid for the visa.

Nine pictures of me given to the American Consul.

Diplomas from my University in Peking and official letters from Boston University.

I have not only money in hand but also a letter of financial guarantee from an American Life Insurance Company.

I have twenty-five credential letters.

I came on the largest boat on the Pacific.

I paid eight dollars alien head tax before I landed.

I speak more languages than the English language.

The Americans are always alert and quick in action. Within a short time I shall be out of the iron-barred detention!

Part II. An hour has passed.

I begin to walk the floor, reading the poems on the walls written by the detained Chinese immigrants:

"My heart is too full to get to the land of dreams.
I ought to find a God to speak to in this free Christian land.
Can I ask for justice while my country is weak? Is might right?
Or has man any right to seek right on the ground of humanity?
The prophet says, All men are created equal.
Here in this prison I sit,
Before any crime I commit!"

"All requirements I have met, all moneys I have paid,
Yet the officer may examine me today or tomorrow.
But in this filthy cell I am obliged to stay.
Shall I turn my faith to the belief that might is right?
Or shall I try to find the explanation of injustice toward China in China's own mistakes?
Certainly it is not true
That America has a god of liberty!
Her treatment of aliens is a treatment of inhumanity.
May we aliens bravely bear our ills,
May we prove to be worthy.
Under the name of heathen let us still promote goodwill."

Part III. Another hour has passed.

The American hour is much longer than ours! No wonder America has an "eight-hour" working day. Time is slow for prisoners anyway. Now I understand what the Westerners mean when they say, "Excuse me just a minute."

Let me see if I can ask the guard. I tiptoe in order to see him through the iron bars.

"Mister officer, can you tell me when the examiner is coming?"

"Shut up!" he shouts.

Part IV. Another hour has passed.

I hear the door and there is the guard; I may be set free!

"Line up!" the guard shouts.

For a minute I am frightened; are they going to shoot us?

"You fellows are going to get something to eat."

One by one we go down stairs. The Russians, Italians, and other Europeans are to have American food; the Chinese, some chop suey. It is the first time I have ever had any of this. I eat with mixed feelings, glad for the experience, but sad for the treatment my prison comrades and I have had.

Part V. Another half-hour is gone and the officer is here.

As a heathen Christian I thank God for the freedom that comes back to me again. Released!

Where Farmers and Laborers Unite

J. E. KIRKPATRICK

IT is not uncommon these days when social classes are dissolving and reforming, to hear of Labor governments in European cities and occasionally in nations. Even in the United States, where society is much more stable, we have city governments under the control of Labor. Occasionally, though rarely, an American state will, like Kansas a generation ago and North Dakota recently, fall for a brief period under the control of a farmers' party. But never have we seen in any American state or European country, with one exception, a government under joint control of the workers from the farms and the workers from the cities. This distinction belongs alone to the little land of the Danes. Here it is that the farmers and the workers have united.

A government made up jointly of farmers and laborers implies a quite unusual degree of mutual understanding between two classes which are commonly in sharp opposition. It requires, too, a high degree of intelligence in the field of social and political activities. The farmer wants high prices for his products and the city worker wants low prices for his food stuffs. These wants seem irreconcilable and the two groups are unable to discover common interests which enable them to coöperate in social and political programs. It is in this mutual understanding and political coöperation that the Danish farmers and proletarians show their superior intelligence. And it is this ability of the majority of the Danish people to cooperate in important social programs that has caused a recent American observer to say that he was frequently compelled to ask himself if the Danes, after all, were not "too much civilized"!

THE Danish people have an excellent and well developed system of schools, much like our own, from primary up to university. They have the best of technical schools—agricultural, engineering and professional. Their teachers for all these schools have a more thorough training than our own, while their social position is much higher and more secure. These public schools do the primary and the essential service which belongs to them, furnish the tools with which life is to be practiced—teach the "three R's" as we say in this land where we have not entirely forgotten the ways and spellings of our pioneer ancestors. Beside these excellent and free public schools the Danes, and lately their neighbors to the north, have established the unusual kind of school for adults, the People's College, which performs another, a distinct, and, as they have shown, an indispensable service for the farmer.

These folk colleges do not educate for farming or for any other occupation. They educate farmers, or rather, they begin the education of farmers. They aim —and succeed in good part—at serving all classes by giving their students "a wide outlook" and opening for them "new windows" through which they may view the entire world. During the past fifty or sixty years these schools have been training an increasing number of young people who, as one of them said, "clench their fists while in the lecture rooms, yearning to go out into the world and set to work." These "little liberal colleges," as they have been called by Americans, send the country and village youth back to the farms, not, as our colleges and universities, off to the cities as business and professional men. They are truly "people's universities" where young people learn not merely the technical side of agriculture, but something about the world, about history and economics.

There are no formal instructional lectures; eloquence is discarded while the "living word" of the teacher is depended upon as the chief means of "inspiration." Once the mind is free, it is said, once the spirit is alert, the youth will readily secure his information. Hence, these teachers deal with history in a large way, with literature as an expression of life, with science as a method by which man has gained control over nature,

while the folk songs are used as an expression of the people's spirit. They assign no lessons, impose no tests, give no credits and offer no degrees. The students, after one or two terms of five winter months for the boys (three summer months for the girls) may go on to the university, to the agricultural schools, or back to the farms. Seventy-five per cent of them come from the farms (only five per cent from the towns and cities) and as we have already noticed, they return to the farms, though these schools have not tried to make farmers of them.

THIS unusual training for the Danish farmer led to his early political development and the forming of a farmers' party known as the Left. This party rests upon the great body of farmers holding each from 12 to 150 acres of land. There are above 100,000 such farms, averaging perhaps 40 acres and accounting for three-fourths of the tillable land. Since 1872 this party of the Left has usually had a majority in the national parliament, has thus controlled the government and placed most of the advanced legislation upon the statute books.

It will enable us to understand how completely farmers and laborers control the policies and government of Denmark if we notice the strength of the several parties after the election of 1924. There were in the lower house of parliament, the house that controls the government, forming and dismissing the ministry, 55 Social-Democrats, or labor representatives; 44 Left, or farmer representatives; 27 Conservatives, large farm holders, the employing and trading classes; 20 Radical Left, the very small farmers, men who hold less than 12 acres of land, and agricultural laborers, "farm hands" we would say; and three unattached representatives. In Denmark, it appears, political parties represent class interests and the strongest political parties by far are the farmers' party, Left, and the Labor party. And thus it is that Farm and Labor coöperate to legislate and administer the affairs of state. We may now notice some of the results of this farm-labor union.

The unusual political ability of Labor, both rural and urban, has enabled the one group, or both together, to use many if not all of the powers of government in advancing their own social and economic enterprises. Government in Denmark has thus become the supporter of interests which concern the great majority, instead, as is so often the case, of protecting and promoting the profits and privileges of the few, on the theory that whatever aids the manufacturer and business man is good for everybody. In his "Denmark, A Coöperative Commonwealth," Frederic C. Howe says on this point:

"Denmark is one of the few countries in the world that is using its political agencies in an intelligent conscious way for the promotion of the economic well being, the comfort and the cultural life of the people. . . . Denmark shows that the state can control the distribution of wealth and increase its production as well. It can destroy monopoly and privileges of all kinds. It can put an end to poverty. It can make it possible for all people to live easily and comfortably. That in itself is of great value. One cannot study the many laws that have been enacted during the last generation without being impressed by the ease with which the state can serve its people if it has a mind to do so. For Denmark has raised the standard of intelligence to a high point. It has abolished illiteracy. Most important of all, it has ushered in a society in which equality of opportunity is not far from an accomplished fact."

AS one of the most important services of the Danish government we may notice what has been done to aid large numbers of families to secure farms of their own. By means of the necessary legislation and the establishment of credits, small farms have been made out of the ancestral estates of the old aristocracy or have been recovered from the heaths and sand hills. But the government does not desert the farmer after having helped him to secure his acres. Nor does it forget the farm "hands" who must labor for the land holder, small though the tracts may be.

The Danish government aids very materially in making a success of the extensive coöperative societies of the farmers and, also, those of the city workers. There are coöperatives for buying, for selling, for marketing, for storing, for slaughtering. At almost if not quite every place where the middle-man usually renders his necessary service and takes such toll as he may, the government-favored coöperatives step in and employ the one time merchant and trader as a salaried agent instead of a profit taker. Banking and credit associations furnish the necessary capital for all the social and industrial enterprises that the farmer and laborer find advantageous. The government sees to it also that all the agencies of transportation and of communication are run for the benefit of the entire community and not for the profit of a few speculators and stockholders.

One of the most effective ways in which the Labor controlled governments have advanced the interests of all the people is by their taxing methods. Revelling and luxury have been discouraged and comfort has been widely distributed by making the taxes bear heavily upon those able to pay and lightly or not at all upon the poor. There are no indirect taxes on the necessities of life, imposed by means of tariffs. Incomes of $225 are not taxed at all. An income of $275 pays 1.4% tax, while an income of $55,000 pays 5%. If the fortunate possessor of such an income chances to be a bachelor, maid or man, the assessor

may rate his income 25% higher than it actually is so that the wealthy may bear their full share of the social burden. The same principle is applied to dues levied on corporations and on inheritances.

WE should notice, too, if we are to realize what a Labor controlled government may do for its community, the provisions made for the unfortunate members of society. Social insurance began in 1885, when the government made careful inquiries and began to lend encouragement to the Friendly Societies, which were doing the work of our fraternal insurance societies. But this was only the beginning of aid for the needy. Provisions were made for accident and invalid insurance, for old-age pensions, for care of widows and orphans, for consumptives and for the unemployed. Labor exchanges were established and factory legislation greatly advanced. A Permanent Court of Arbitration for settlement of disputes between labor and capital was set up in 1910, and has become an established feature of industrial life which neither party would willingly have abolished.

We have already noticed that the Danish government has been generous with schools of all kinds. So successful has been the work of these schools during the past two or three generations that Professor Cooley, in 1914, was led to say in the "Educational Review": "The Danish peasant is the best informed in the world. More and more class distinctions are disappearing among them. . . . And not only among the peasants but among the working class there is not that chasm between the educated and the uneducated that is found among the other countries of the world." In such a country we shall find, as we should expect, libraries, museums, lecture halls, theaters and parks generously maintained and freely used. The influences of such agencies, particularly that of the people's colleges and the many agencies associated with them, have noticeably marked the character of the people. Mr. Howe says of the communities where the "little liberal colleges" are influential: "One finds little drinking, gambling or other forms of immorality. Not that the schools are puritanical, for dances, sports and play of all kinds are emphasized as part of the curriculum."

DENMARK, then, has gone far toward abolishing privileges for the few and giving advantages to all. It may be truly called a "Coöperative Commonwealth." Here are no multi-millionaires, and, still more important, none are in the making. How can there be when the usual sources of private profit are all secured to the general profit? The dangers which are supposed to lurk in a "socialist" government are nowhere in evidence. The government, industry, business, are all democratic. The schools are democratic. And, it should be said, the state church survives, the free churches flourish, and religion is a vital and valued force in Danish society. Denmark almost alone among the European nations seems to have no acute and menacing social problems, problems too difficult for the intelligence of her Labor controlled government.

There is, for instance, no talk in Denmark about the decline of agriculture, the decadence of the village or the failure of democracy. How could there be where the people themselves lead in movements which have largely done away with the evils of landlordism and tenancy, destroyed the ancient and almost universal feeling of inferiority which marks the "dirt farmer" and raised him to a position of intelligence and influence higher perhaps than that of any other country dweller.

Again, these Danish communities do not seem to have an acute "youth problem." The older generation is not afraid of the younger nor is the younger critical and disrespectful toward the older. In Denmark the elders do not dictate to the youth, nor yet do they abdicate the place that belongs to them as teachers and inspirers of youth. The leaders of these peoples' colleges, which are widely and thickly scattered over the country, believe that youth wants help to-day as never before. It is the business of the folk schools particularly to help the exceptional youth, the boy who cannot "find himself," who is restless and rebellious in the school, the boy who with us is so likely to run wild. They help him get hold first of himself and then to undertake some big job that must wait for the stronger members of the new generation if ever it is to be done.

In these days when the future of our western civilization seems so very dubious, when the great urban and industrial centers of population seem of all the most problematical, when the cities threaten to destroy the village and countryside which have thus far been the nursery of such culture and morality as we have, at such a time it would seem to be of the utmost consequence for all friends of the future to study the unusual movement which has not only saved the farmer but made him the leading citizen of a modern state. Certainly there is a tolerant conservatism and a safe radicalism inherent in those classes who tend the soil with its plant and animal children, which no urban class has yet shown clear evidence of possessing. Most of us would rather trust the farmer than the trader, and the proletarians are too socialistic for us. Give the farmer in every country the chances that the Prophet of the North has opened to him, let him prove himself, join the city workers and be prepared to take over the reins of government as in this happy little land of the North, and we may all breathe more easily when we think of the now menacing future.

Findings

"Next to the originator of a good sentence is the first quoter of it."—Emerson.

Business as Usual

About 86 per cent of Americans still are members of families whose incomes are less than $2,000 a year, a sum which can be lived on by the average family of five only by the sacrifice of most of the amenities, and even some of the necessities of life.—*R. G. Tugwell,* Industry's Coming of Age, *p. 217.*

Advocates of the League—Cheer Up!

Josiah Tucker, the dean of Gloucester, (in 1781) remarked: "As to the future grandeur of America, and its being a rising empire, under one head, whether republican or monarchical, it is one of the idlest and most visionary notions that ever was conceived even by the writers of romance. The mutual antipathies and clashing interests of the Americans, their difference of governments, habitudes, and manners, indicate that they will have no centre of union and no common interest. They never can be united into one compact empire under any species of government whatever; a disunited people till the end of time, suspicious and distrustful of each other, they will be divided and subdivided into little commonwealths and principalities."—*Geo. Bancroft,* History of the United States, *Vol. 6.*

Blood-Stained Jewelry

Who is the robber and murderer we have most to fear—the pirate who on the high seas grasps men and goods, the highwayman and the housebreaker, or the man who, shielding himself always carefully behind a law he sees works in his favor or knows how to evade, makes his wealth from the ill-paid labor of those in mines and factories working at the cost of life, and ornaments his wife and daughters as much in blood-stained jewelry and garments as the robber who returning home put on his wife's finger a ring cut from the hand of a living woman or throws on his daughter's shoulders a garment spotted with a traveler's blood.—*Olive Schreiner,* From Man to Man, *p. 173.*

Labor, Attention!

Rightly or wrongly, the general public has got the impression that the attitude of organized labor toward it is the same as that often attributed to the capitalistic corporation, namely, "The public be damned!" The sour, disagreeable, gruff attitude of many street-car conductors, plumbers, carpet-layers, furniture-movers, electricians, and the like, to the ordinary householder, occupant of an apartment, or citizen and passenger has probably lost labor more friends than all its "dangerous doctrines" put together. *Thorndike,* A Short History of Civilization. *p. 523.*

Mean Ingratitude

The want of gratitude displayed by a nation to its alien benefactors is almost as old as history itself.—*Cromer,* Modern Egypt. II. *p. 571.*

Our readers are urged to send in significant "Findings" from which we may make selections for future issues.

Conditions and Principles

The besetting sin of us all is that we try to square our principle with the particular conditions in which we find ourselves; the idea seldom strikes us that it is not our conditions which should determine our principles, but, on the contrary, our principles which should determine our mode of life and conduct.—*George Lansbury,* These Things Shall Be, *p. 31.*

A Fire of Thought and Spirit

When the Goths sacked Rome, St. Augustine wrote the "City of God," putting a spiritual hope in place of the material reality that had been destroyed. Throughout the centuries that followed St. Augustine's hope lived and gave life, while Rome sank to a village of hovels. For us, too, it is necessary to create a new hope, to build up by our thought a better world than the one which is hurling itself into ruin. Because the times are bad, more is required of us than would be required in normal times. Only a supreme fire of thought and spirit can save future generations from the death that has befallen the generation which we knew and loved.—*Bertrand Russell,* Why Men Fight, *p. 270.*

Commerce and Christianity

The explorer, adventurer, journalist Henry M. Stanley returned from Africa in 1844 and addressed the Manchester Chamber of Commerce—chiefly cotton merchants. Assuming that civilization and Christianity would teach the naked negroes of Congo to wear decent cotton clothes, at least on Sundays, he estimated that one Sunday dress for each native would mean "320,000,000 yards of Manchester cotton cloth" (cheers from the audience); and in time, when the natives had learned the importance of covering their nakedness on weekdays, as well as Sundays, the amount of cloth required would amount to 26,000,000 pounds sterling per annum. In his peroration he fused the mercantile and missionary motives in masterly style: "There are forty millions of people beyond the gateway of the Congo, and the cotton spinners of Manchester are waiting to clothe them. Birmingham foundries are glowing with the red metal that will presently be made into ironwork for them and the trinkets that shall adorn those dusky bosoms, and the ministers of Christ are zealous to bring them, the poor benighted heathen, into the Christian fold."—*Parker T. Moon,* Imperialism and World Politics. *p. 66.*

Educating Inferior Nations

Nothing so well teaches men how to deserve freedom as freedom itself. This will not be admitted by those who constantly appeal to an alleged immaturity as a pretext for oppression. The lack of maturity sufficient for the enjoyment of freedom can only be due to a lack of intellectual and moral strength, and combated only by increasing this strength. To increase it, one must exercise it; and for its exercise the spirit of initiative which only freedom can confer is indispensable.—*De Ruggiero,* The History of European Liberalism. *p. 222.*

The Book End

The World Tomorrow reviews only books which it believes to be helpful and interesting. On rare occasions it includes unfavorable comment on a popular volume which seems sufficiently misleading to render adverse criticism imperative.

Is the U.S.A. Imperialistic?

IF I had $96,000 I would be tempted to offer a thousand dollar bonus to each member of the United States Senate who would read and digest Professor J. W. Garner's new book, *American Foreign Policies*. There really ought to be a nationwide movement inaugurated to induce at least the members of the Committee on Foreign Relations to meditate for the space of four hours on the contents of this volume.

So far as the ordinary citizen is concerned, there is no need to offer a bonus. Once you lay hands on the book you will not let it go until you come to page 254. It is interesting. Extraordinarily so. It deals with supremely important issues. Matters of life and death. It is authoritative. Documentary evidence abounds. It is humiliating and depressing. Terribly so. Few Americans who read it will be able to boast for a week afterwards.

The evidence cited in his chapter on Imperialism and Dollar Diplomacy disposes once and for all of the contention that the U.S.A. is not imperialistic. To maintain otherwise is blind self-deception or rank hypocrisy. Who will attempt to refute the following summary of our record? "A large part of the territory," says Professor Garner, "which has been added to our original domain has been acquired as a result of conquest following wars which we ourselves declared and as to the righteousness of which the judgment of mankind is far from unanimous. No continental European country since Napoleon's day has extended its territorial domain in the same proportion as has the United States; and it is doubtful whether any of them have taken by conquest more of their neighbors' lands than we have done."

The chapter on the Monroe Doctrine is a classic. The author traces the transformation that has been wrought in the original doctrine and concludes that if President Monroe should return from the grave, he would fail to recognize it as his own. After pointing out the grave perils inherent in prevailing interpretations of the doctrine, Professor Garner says: "Indeed, it is hard to see what we are getting out of it today except ill-will, abuse, loss of trade, and increased taxes for the upkeep of a navy which we are constantly told must be powerful enough to enable us to defend the doctrine as we interpret it."

The average citizen of the United States supposes that this nation is fully committed to the practice of arbitration and other peaceful means of settling international disputes. We were. Until about twenty-five years ago. During the past quarter century, however, our record with regard to arbitration has been an exceedingly poor one. Some of the most illuminating pages in this volume are devoted to an analysis of the relevant evidence. Read them and weep.

The concluding portion of this book surveys the facts as to what other countries think of us. We have lots of friends around the world. But not as many as once we had. The ranks of those who are sorely disappointed in us are swelling. Many are distrustful and suspicious. Others are apprehensive and fearful. Some are bitter and hostile. This land of ours is in desperate need of a day of searching self-examination and humble penitence.

Buy this thought-provoking volume. It will soon be dog-eared. (Published by New York University Press, $6.) K. P.

Population and Immigration

BECAUSE the population of the world is increasing so rapidly that at the present rate there will be less than a square yard of arable land to a person one thousand years hence, and because Europe, the Americas and Australasia have with their superior culture learned to limit the number of births, while Africa and Asia have not, Professor Edward Alsworth Ross, in *Standing Room Only*,[1] proposes a Great Barrier against migration between these two divisions of the world. Within the first grand segregated division, comprising thirty-five per cent of the world's population, there will be further restrictions against the migrations of Italians, Slavs and the natives of Mexico and Central America. Such is the sweeping conclusion to a broad and very interesting survey of the welfare of the peoples of the earth as it is affected by population increase and food supply, a survey that repeats in brilliant generalizations and quotations from a wide variety of sources the outlines of the mass deaths of old from famine, disease, pestilence, the striking results of modern sanitation, medicine and public health, resulting in a reduction of the death rates and a consequent higher rate of population increase. The searchlight whose radius covers hemispheres and centuries flashes into the future and shows the reader his congested progeny of several generations to come and among them an interesting struggle going on between the old and young, a struggle caused by the prolongation of life through medicine and sanitation.

The bulk of the book is devoted to the relation of population increase, either by births or migration, to social welfare. The author contends that the gains of labor saving machinery, of the discovery of new lands and of other boons of civilization of the last few centuries have served not to elevate society so much as to sustain more lives. In a later chapter, speaking of comparative birth rates, and having assumed the culture of the natives as superior to that of immigrants and then having fallen into the popular (and the reviewer believes quite unwarranted) further assumption that the newcomers themselves are inferior apparently, because they are at a disadvantage, he says: "So the low standard immigrants supplant the natives partly because of the assistance they receive from the superior culture they have come into *and on which they are parasites*. The superior *provide the knife that cuts their throats*." In the face of the enormous disadvantages imposed on immigrants in America, and the material and social possessions enjoyed by those who have been here longer, and despite the lack of evidence of innate superiority on the part of the natives, such statements seem exceedingly unjust.

Roy L. Garis takes a stand on *Immigration Restriction*[2] that

American laws, American institutions, American customs, and American civilization in general have been endangered by large numbers who since 1890 have come to our shores from Southern and Eastern Europe. The main contention is typified in the title of the chief chapter of the book, "Back to 1890." The Johnson bill of 1924 temporarily bases the quota of immigrants to be allowed from each country on the census of 1890. The author urges the ease of computing and the definiteness of figures based on that Census in preference to the national origins plan whereby the quota for each foreign geographical area is to be based on the proportionate number of persons in the United States in 1920 who by birth or ancestry can be said to have derived their origin from the respective countries or areas. The arguments are the familiar ones relating to the northern European source of American institutions and early immigration to America.

The greatest interest in the book will center on the careful history presented in the first seven of the ten chapters: of regulation of immigration, the widespread and determined opposition and resentment to newcomers expressed since earliest colonial days, of the early colonial and State regulation and the gradual and complete assumption by Congress of power over immigration, of the increase without a break in the number of types of persons excluded and finally in 1921 of the adoption of quantitative as well as qualitative selection. It is interesting again to note that "the great mass of unskilled labor" brought to America to do the hard work was in colonial times brought under duress and consisted in recruits from the lower classes, the slums, the alleys and the prisons. It is an aid to wholesome skepticism concerning the inferiority of lower classes to read in Garis, referring to the lower classes: "It is astonishing how quickly the yellow streak in the population faded. Many of these people belonged to the class of the unfortunate rather than the vicious and were the product of a passing state of society."

One can agree with Ross that limitation of population increase will need checking both of the deliberate and socially unconscious kind and with Garis and Ross that for purposes of assimilation and particularly for the purpose of greater proportionate social advantage to the workers and the underdog that immigration needs numerical as well as qualitative limitation, without advocating Chinese walls in the twentieth century of communication and integration and without the assumption of national, racial or class superiorities. ([1] Published by The Century Company, $3. [2] Published by Macmillan, $4.) LeRoy E. Bowman.

Charles W. Eliot

THERE are few names in the history of American education more important than that of Charles W. Eliot, former president of Harvard University. Consult a history of elementary education in the United States and you will discover the prominence of this man. Study the development of the American university and you will find that Harvard under Eliot blazed the way for practically all the rest to follow.

Eliot became head of the oldest American college in 1869 at the age of 35 and remained there till 1909. Marvelously rich years! With his Inaugural Address he jumped right into the current and demanded that all should swim vigorously upstream. American education must become more worthy of the name. The professional schools in law and medicine were rigorously pulled up and their standards were raised higher and higher. Entrance requirements were made more severe and the better students thus gained were urged forward to greater achievements.

Eliot believed in freedom for teacher and student. It would have been impossible under him to muzzle a teacher or even to censor him for professing unpopular views. Nor did he imagine that being a teacher at Harvard imposed restrictions upon the exercise of any citizen duties he might choose to partake in. He wanted freedom for himself and he wanted others to enjoy it likewise. Freedom for the student meant chiefly the "elective system," and the relinquishment of the attempt to shelter him from the evils of the world. Regarding the first—which brought an avalanche of protest—he believed that the student knew his interests and aptitudes better than the professor. So let him choose. Regarding the second he held that the student must "find his protection within himself." If he did not, no monastic regime would succeed in forming character.

It is often overlooked that Eliot was a chemist by education. His educational reforms were very largely based on his experience in the physical sciences. The specialization which was mandatory there and of the highest value he introduced into the social sciences. It led to over-specialization and huge pockets of ignorance on important subjects. Today the schools are trying to modify the Eliot system by breaking down the rigid barriers between departments and by survey courses of enormous range.

The peace movement has also claimed a friend in Charles Eliot. He was much interested in peaceable international relations and in 1911 took a trip around the world on behalf of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. But he was no absolutist. He supported Wilson's Mexican venture and the Great War.

When Eliot died in 1926 William Allan Neilson gathered together his most representative writings in *Charles W. Eliot. The Man and His Beliefs* (two beautiful volumes). Neilson prefaced the selections with an informing biography. Of the materials presented the best and most characteristic are those that come under the captions: Education and The Conduct of Life. In these two matters Eliot has still much of value to impart to our generation. (Published by Harpers. $10.) H. C. E.

Science and Religion

PROFESSOR Michael Pupin, who gave us his revealing autobiography—"From Immigrant to Inventor"—now adds to that intimate picture in *The New Reformation.* What he gives, in seven popular lectures, is a history of science from Galileo to the present time. He testifies to his conviction of the consistency of a religious view of the world with both the facts and methods of modern science. The advance of science has been the discovery of coordinating forces and their operation which have brought order out of possible chaos. In his treatment of "The Reality of Matter in Motion" he deals with the discoveries of Galileo, Kepler and Newton; in "The Reality of Electricity in Motion" with Oersted, Ampère and Faraday; in "Radiation" he gives Maxwell's electro-magnetic theory of light; "Cosmic Granules" deals with molecules, atoms and electrons. This review and survey is valuable to the untrained readers as well as to the scientifically trained for its unifying process. From his brief summary he draws his analogy of spiritual forces and realities. Physical science gives no proof, but does give a convincing analogy. "Physical and spiritual realities are the two terminals of the same realities" and the recognition of spiritual facts and forces as realities constitutes "the new reformation." (Published by Charles Scribner's Sons, $2.50.) A. A. S.

The Undying Nick and Bart

IN my office hangs a grim picture. It is a reproduction of two death masks. Casual callers amaze me by their incredibly naive inquiries about Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, the background of their trial, their imprisonment, and their execution. More than a few conservative Christians, fond, certainly, of the symbolism of the cross, feel only stark reminders of an incident they would rather forget, a sense of foreboding, perhaps—vague, but troubling, insistent, not to be dismissed.

I do not feel it stark; I find it full of beauty. It assures me not only that men are capable of cool class ferocity, but that men are able to grow under persecution, remain dauntless in the face of slow torture, and at the end, die nobly, true to their faith.

The millions of people who shared something of that agony with Sacco and Vanzetti, whether or not they shared the social views of the Italian anarchists, need not be thought forgetful. If they are silent now, they are only working hard, in their diverse ways, as all must work who labor for a warmer, juster society. And there are spokesmen still.

William Floyd, the editor of that gay and pungent sheet, *The Arbitrator,* has prepared a pamphlet summary of the famous case. Clear, cogent, unemotional, it is a valuable addition to the record; it may be obtained from the Sacco-Vanzetti National League, Room 411, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York, at ten cents per copy.

Better, though, at least to me, are the frankly rippling pools of feeling to be found in *The Life and Death of Sacco and Vanzetti,*[1] by Eugene Lyons, who labored so valiantly in the radicals' behalf. I see scant virtue in the fish-cold, judicial approach that some (though not Mr. Floyd!) insisted must be used in regard to this case; it was the coldness of Boston's fishy class loyalty that did the men to death, and it will take something more human than facts and logic to melt that sort of icy mentality wherever it exists. It will take, I think, a better knowledge of men, of so-called inferiors, of aliens, of radicals. Lyons' book does make you see these men as humans, radicals, aliens, and seers in their own simple profundity. It takes you into the lives of the Italian workers, and into the sacrificial loyalty of those who labor to make men free. Whether you like the book or not, in its entirety, it will force you to the inevitable crux of the case in those final tragic days, and make you ask what could a Fuller or a Lowell know of men like these? For, if you are able to slough off the trappings of academic precision in speech and middle class ideology, even if you are a social conservative, you will be driven to make comparisons between a soul like that of Vanzetti's and the scion of that family reputed to converse only with the Deity.

No wonder Lyons calls the case an epic: "When these men were pronounced guilty of a repulsive murder, in the courtroom at Dedham on July 14, 1921, the New York *Times* gave the conviction exactly seven and a half inches on an inside page. But six years later, when the two were put to death in the electric chair, on August 23, 1927, the same newspaper gave five pages to the event." And why? "This story of two alien workers in America is an epic of all aliens and of all workers in America. Sacco and Vanzetti were chosen for their epic rôle almost accidentally. They demonstrated what grandeur there may be in simple, modest workers. With every tortured hour of their ordeal they expanded, even as their image on men's minds expanded. They found powers of endurance, a clarity of understanding of their own plight in relation to the plight of their fellowmen. They never wavered, never complained. And they died like heroes. Even their enemies exclaimed in awe-struck admiration. As to their friends—for them old frayed out words like 'martyrs' and 'heroes' have become young and real. They have acquired names and a history."

Still another approach is through an anthology of poems, *America Arraigned,*[2] edited by Lucia Trent and Ralph Cheyney. I must hasten to say that to my taste a fairly heavy percentage of the verse, as poetry, is distinctly "not so good." There are, however, some lingering lines and a number of poems of excellence. I think the editors have been wholly right in the inclusion of verse inspired by deep and honest passion even though it does not always seem informed by the magic freshness of expression distinctive verse demands. Under stress and strain, the finest woodsman's axe may strike off-line and yet the work be worth the doing. None of the more plain-spoken verses can sear like the quieter, clenched lines of Edna St. Vincent Millay:

> What from the splendid dead
> We have inherited,
> Furrows sweet to the grain, and the weed subdued—
> See now the slug and the mildew plunder,
> Evil does overwhelm
> The larkspur and the corn;
> We have seen them flounder,
> Let us sit still
> Here in the sitting room until we die.
> At the step of Death on the walk we rise and go,
> Leaving to our children's children this beautiful doorway,
> And this elm.
> And a blighted earth to till
> With a broken hoe.

Throughout the volume, Governor Fuller's first name is misspelled, "Alvin." This, however, is a circumstance that, as the years go by, will be of little or no importance. Fuller will be remembered for nothing except as the instrument of a long-lasting but decadent class who doomed to death two well-remembered friends of humankind.

D. A.

[1] Published by International Publishers, $1.50.
[2] Published by Dean and Co., $1.

Are All Men Created Equal?

SINCE the founding of this nation America has been plowed, built upon and ridden across. New economic conditions, changed philosophies, amended laws and new ways of living have made a different United States. T. V. Smith, professor of sociology at the University of Chicago, in *The American Philosophy of Equality* asks if we can still recognize, apply and profit by the principle "that all men are created equal"; does it serve today as it did for pioneer America?

Instead of saying Yes or No and ending his volume he chooses to reinterpret the old concept of equality in terms of modern ways and to inquire how the idea can be made to serve modern needs. "The question is not so much what an individual *is* as it is what he can *do*—the individual is what he functions as. What one is can better be determined by what he is becoming than by what he has *been*. And instead of inquiring whether men as static entities ought to be made equal in the future, we inquire whether men, as dynamic centers of activity, ought to be treated equally." Professor Smith does suggest that all men ought to know "the ends for which they must work" and that wealth and income be distributed, not equally, but to such an extent that poverty shall not impair the workman's efficiency or his intelligence. (Published by the University of Chicago Press, $3.)

A. A. S.

Unskilled Workers' Income

THE Income and Standard of Living of Unskilled Laborers in Chicago, by Leila Houghteling, is a study of 467 families for the year 1924. It indicates one important fact in the matter of method. The custom of depending in investigations upon estimates by the wage-earner or a member of the family was shown to be of dubious accuracy. When the actual wages paid as given by employers was compared to the estimates of housewives there was in more than one-half of the cases an error of over 10%. Most frequently the wages were underestimated. The great majority of the chief wage-earners received between $1,000 and $1,800. Of the 87 colored families the chief wage-earner received less than $1,200, in 50% of the cases. 355 of the families had a supplementary income from various sources. 108 of the mothers were at work. Among the white families 17.8% of the mothers were gainfully employed and among the colored families 47.1% worked for wages. Only 14 families possessed an automobile. In the majority of cases the income of the chief wage-earner was inadequate according to the budget of the Chicago Council of Social Agencies. When the income from all sources is considered, there was slightly over one-half of the families that met the requirements of that budget. It should be remembered, too, that this was a selected group of workers, since only those were included who were married and had at least one dependent child and who were employed throughout the year. In fact, almost 50% had been with the same firm five years or more, though over one-half of the workers had had some period of idleness during the year, due to sickness or lack of work.

The importance of the services of social agencies appears from the fact that 48.4% of these independent families had at some time made use of at least one such agency and 134 had used such facilities in the year 1924. (Published by the University of Chicago Press. $2.50.)

GEORGE L. COLLINS.

An Effort Toward Moral Criterion

TESTING the Knowledge of Right and Wrong, by Hugh Hartshorne, Mark A. May and others, is a reprint of articles from "Religious Education" and now constitutes Monograph No. 1 of the Religious Education Association. Having devised satisfactory tests for intelligence and educational achievement, testers and examiners looked around for fresh fields to conquer. Why not try that of morals? The idea seemed a good one and the Character Education Inquiry of the Institute of Educational Research, Teachers College, Columbia University, was launched. The monograph under review describes some of the C. E. I. investigations which have been made.

The basic difficulty in testing morality is to discover a satisfactory criterion of validity. In intelligence testing the average judgments of a large number of people who knew the subjects intimately was the criterion. But morality tests cannot be validated in the same way. Morality varies with time and place. It was right for the ancient Greek to expose his defective child on Mount Olympus; it is right for a head-hunter of New Guinea to secure his head; it is right for a Mohammedan to take unto himself a plurality of wives. There are no universal standards of morality, only local ones in time and space.

Lacking a criterion of validity, the authors did the next best thing—they regarded "the sum of all or a part of these tests as the best existing measure of the moral knowledge of these pupils" and correlated each test against the rest. This lack of reliable criterion of validity is the inherent weakness of the investigation, which no amount of statistical technique can overcome. As far as can be seen at present no universally valid tests of morality can ever be made, but only local tests which enable one to judge whether or not a person conforms to the taboos and codes of his group. The authors, for example, were unable to select from their own tests a group of items which would consistently discriminate between honest and dishonest children.

If these limitations be granted then the worth of this work can be frankly recognized. The authors have rigidly kept an impersonal attitude and allowed the facts to speak for themselves. Some conclusions are as follows: Older children, apparently, have no greater moral knowledge than younger ones. Duller children cheat more often than brighter children, and all children cheat more frequently in school than in the home. As a matter of fact we haven't one moral code of morals but several; one for home, another for business, another for school, etc., and each is remarkably independent of all the rest. Girls rate consistently higher than boys in moral knowledge, probably owing to the fact that girls retain a longer and more intimate contact with the home—that fount of moral codes—than boys. Considering that research in this branch of knowledge is in its infancy, we should feel grateful that these initial steps were guided by such competent people. But the book is quite technical and not very easy to read. (Published by Religious Education Association, Chicago. $1.)

P. SANDIFORD

The Foreign Relations of the U.S.S.R.

THE parallel is ready to hand and has often been made between the Russian Revolution and the French Revolution. There are striking agreements and even more important divergencies. They are alike, above all, in this, that they released upon the world an idea which was disturbing to their neighbors. From the French came the great impetus for political democracy. From the Russians an equally strong emphasis on industrial democracy.

Europe tried to guard itself against these dangerous ideas. A century back it brought about the restoration of the Bourbons, received France back formally into the family of nations (1818) and made her an instrument in suppressing political democracy wherever it showed its head. It took Europe about a century, till the end of the Great War, until the idea of the French Revolution was generally accepted.

Against the Russians Europe guarded in another way. It tried to effect a restoration of czardom, but without success. Then a "sanitary cordon" was drawn about the Soviet Union, Russia was to be an outcast until she repented. But ideas are not choked or knaved out of existence in that way. Europe and the rest of the world will have to settle with Russia's idea, even it if takes more than a century.

Soviet Russia and Her Neighbors, by R. Page Arnot, deals with the foreign relations of the U.S.S.R. Professor Dennis has done it previously on a more elaborate scale. Still this little book of 175 pages sketches very well the outline of that strange story, of which the last chapter is by no means written: the attempt to destroy an idea by force of arms. That feat has never yet been achieved. And that does not augur well for the present attempt. (Vanguard Press. 50 cents.)

H. C. E.

BETTER BOOKS *for* ALL-ROUND READING

Abolish the Death Penalty. Boston: Massachusetts Council for the Abolition of the Death Penalty, 4 Park St. Pamphlet. 32 pages. Free. A rattling good sideswipe against the brutalizing policy of execution.

Heavenly Discourse, by Charles Erskine Scott Wood. New York: Vanguard Press, 1927. 7¼ x 4½. 325 pages. 50 cents. Hotter than Voltaire ever thought of being. Supremely artful, intolerant irreverence toward things theological, but profoundly reverent of Jesus' idealism; a scorching wind of satire against exploitation, war, and whatnot. Let no pastor be caught by a layman with this dynamite upon his desk; he'll be ruined forever.

Henry Thoreau, the Cosmic Yankee, by J. Brooks Atkinson. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927. 7¾ x 5¼. 158 pages. $2.50. A slender but thoroughly enjoyable study of one of our greatest humans; sympathetic but not uncritical. The great naturalist-mystic-rebel still has a lot to say.

The Outline of Man's Knowledge, by Clement Wood. New York: Lewis Copeland Co., 1927. 9½ x 6½. 654 pages. $5.00. Overfacile and perilously sketchy, but thus forewarned this is still a worthwhile compendium of facts, if only for its slant against war and plunder. More readable than would seem possible, too.

A Short History of Women, by John Langdon-Davies. New York. The Viking Press. 1927. 5½ x 7½. 382 pages. $3. In which he begins way back and gives another analysis of a group so often segregated from the rest of the race for just this purpose. His 18th century treatment is shaky.

Talleyrand: the Training of a Statesman, by Anna Bowman Dodd. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 6 x 9. 490 pages. $5. A very readable account of the famous diplomatist, courtier and cynic. His career began at the brilliant court of Louis XIV and ended as grand chamberlain to Louis-Philippe. No historical figure better illustrates how unlovable and unlovely sheer intellect can be and yet compel unwilling admiration.

Tall Men, by James Stuart Montgomery. New York: Greenberg. 6 x 9. 322 pages. $2. Blockade running for the Confederacy during the Civil War. Agreeable, but without great depth.

The Pullman Porter. New York, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, 2311 Seventh Ave. Pamphlet. 16 pages. Free. A succinct, extremely illuminating statement of why and when a feller that's a porter needs a friend, and why the union has become that friend. Get it and take it along for perusal on your next train journey.

The Oxford Book of American Verse, 18th to 20th Centuries, chosen and edited by Bliss Carman. New York: Oxford University Press. 1927. 4½ x 7. 661 pages. $3.75. It does not attempt to be encyclopaedic; it is a comparatively small anthology. A very good selection on the whole, and one which brings out the significant difference between the old poetry and the new.

Russian Poetry, by Babette Deutsch and Avrahm Yarmolinsky. New York: International Publishers, 1927. 7¾ x 5¼. 254 pages. $2.25. A glimpse into the artistic mind of Russia from the early 1800s to the present. Preponderantly pre-Soviet, but a goodly number of poets who grew up under the red flag. Blok's famous poem, The Twelve, in full and revised form.

Paul: The Jew, by the author of "By an Unknown Disciple." New York: George H. Doran Company. 1927. 5¼ x 7¾. 257 pages. $2. An imaginative sketch of Paul in his unconverted days, which ties into the New Testament narrative and gives the background of his transformation. It is well done in the traditional way, yet it leads one to wonder what John Erskine would do with the same subject.

Juggler's Kiss, by Manuel Komroff. New York: Boni and Liveright. 1927. 5 x 7¼. 288 pages. $2.50. The devil, this time disguised as Ambition, duplicates his Faust success in disillusioning the soul of a young American, and the author initiates his own success as a writer of imaginative, symbolic novels.

What I Believe, by Dr. William J. Robinson. New York: Eugenics Publishing Company. 1927. 5 x 7½. 207 pages. $2.50. In which the editor of The Critic and Guide sets forth his complete Credo. He begins with "happiness—the only aim and the only criterion."

Why Stop Learning? by Dorothy Canfield Fisher. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1927. 5 x 7. 294 pages. $2. With a five day week what shall adults do with their leisure? What are the tendencies and possibilities in the many phases of adult education here and in other countries? Mrs. Fisher has set down good answers to these questions.

Labor in Southern Cotton Mills, by Paul Blanshard. New York: The League for Industrial Democracy. 1927. Pamphlet. 87 pages. 25c. Since 1900 the industry has become one of America's most important. The first quarter of the century has seen an increase of 288 per cent in Southern spindles and a doubling of the cotton mill wage earners. This splendid study is packed with facts which should be widely known.

Trees at Night, by Art Young. New York: Boni and Liveright. 1927. 6½ x 10. 39 pages. $3. Forty drawings by Art Young. Each is imaginative, beautifully executed and the collection makes an attractive book.

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CORRESPONDENCE

Morrow, Lindbergh and Mexico

IN the February number you notify us that you are adding a page to your regular quota of editorials, and you want to know what we think of it. I am all for it, But—

Not if you are going to use the extra page for such dangerous and undiscriminating sentimentalizing as you indulge in the editorial entitled, Presto Change, which deals with what you call the spectacular, almost miraculous change which has occurred in recent months in the sentiment between the United States and Mexico.

You coolly admit that economic rivalry persists, that dangerous financial and political problems remain unsolved. Nevertheless, Morrow and Lindbergh "have made an incalculable contribution to the cause of international friendship and cooperation!" Angels and ministers of grace defend us! Mexico is not to be bullied and robbed at the point of a gun; instead she is to be cajoled and robbed while her eyes are fixed in a trance on marvelous aeronautical stunts. The spectacle of Lindbergh being degraded to such a use is "an incalculable contribution to international friendship and cooperation!" Barely can I restrain myself from beating my head on my desk.

If there is such a miraculous change in the spirit of our international relations, how do you account for what the marines are doing in Nicaragua every day in the private war being conducted by our and Mr. Morrow's esteemed friend, C. Coolidge?

If the Morrow and Lindbergh exploits really meant, as you suggest, that the yet unsolved problems are now to be approached in a spirit of sympathy and friendship there would be cause for the genial glow you have worked yourself into. But how on earth can any one with an I. Q. like yours think that? Have you never seen a husband and wife whose relations were on a thoroughly unsound footing "kiss and make up" and dissolve in ecstasy, to go back to the same indecent bickering and spoiling of each other's lives the next day? And do you hail that kind of reconciliation as an indication that while all the old problems remain they are now to be faced in a spirit of sympathy and friendliness? I warn you that another blow like this is likely to kill me.

Brookwood, Katonah, N. Y. A. J. MUSTE.

Professor Davis's Main Thesis

IF I have done any injustice to the *Churchman,* I am happy to be corrected. What we all should want is the truth. The editor of the *Churchman* refers to two editorials I did not mention. One of them is a two-column editorial dealing largely with English bishops which touches oil only in its last sentence, which reads, "Perhaps a few more Teapot Dome Scandals in our national political life will rouse the Church more fully to its obligation of helping to lay some of the ghosts of our social sins." The other editorial appeared near the close of the year 1924, in November, and endorsed the Citizens' Federal Research Bureau.

Giving every vestige of credit that one can to the *Churchman,* the editor can not deny that on March 8 he devoted the first paragraph of a leading editorial to the oil issue under the heading "Unbridled Tongues" and delivered a scathing denunciation of Mr. Vanderlip, who was unselfishly doing his best to uncover fraud. It

The REFLEX MAGAZINE

Edited by Dr. S. M. MELAMED

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FREE should the scholar be,—free and brave. . . . It is a shame if his tranquillity, amid dangerous times, arise from the presumption, that, like children and women, his is a protected class; or if he seeks temporary peace by diversion of his thoughts from politics or vexed questions, hiding his head like an ostrich in the flowering bushes, peeping into microscopes, and turning rhymes, as a boy whistles to keep his courage up.

—Ralph Waldo Emerson.

Like Emerson, *The New Student* envisages the American scholar as a man of action as well as a man of thought. There is no refuge in *The New Student* for the collegiate timid soul, no temporary peace from "politics or vexed questions." *The New Student* is an irritant, a disturber of tranquillity, a weekly plague for the campus ostrich.

Here are a few, a very few, of the articles, editorials, and news items in which *The New Student,* during the past four months, has suggested action as the complement of thought:

(1) An editorial showing how the Sacco-Vanzetti case should be an important item in the education of every college student.

(2) Articles showing why thoughtful students at Yale should become active in a New Haven strike; and why students active in the Colorado coal strike should become thoughtful.

(3) An editorial outlining the political and economic basis of Mayor Bill Thompson's antics, and suggesting what educated people might do to eliminate the Thompsons from political life.

(4) An article explaining an experiment whereby the question of War is brought to the college dissecting table.

These represent merely one direction pointed by *The New Student.* They fail, advisedly, to touch upon the numerous thought-provoking, stimulating, cultural contributions made by students and professors through the pages of *The New Student.* They do not mention the regular weekly analysis of events on the campus.

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added, "It would be an excellent thing if all the individuals who have registered their disapproval in this case always conformed in their own lives to the ideal they have so emphatically expressed." The Editor of the *Churchman* thinks I made a false assertion. That is a matter of interpretation. There are those who think that the *Churchman* has published false comments. The Secretary to Mr. Vanderlip, for instance, writes me that the *Churchman* broadcasted a false statement about Mr. Vanderlip. It all depends on one's point of view.

Whatever the *Churchman* may say, the main thesis in my article has been overwhelmingly proved that in the year 1924 certain of the religious periodicals in America were not prophetic in calling the attention of the nation to the moral lessons of the oil scandal. I hope all of us (myself included) will be more adventurous crusaders for the right in the future.

New Haven, Conn. JEROME DAVIS.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

F. O. R. Conferences

THE Annual Spring Conference of the Fellowship of Reconciliation meets, April 10th to 12th, in the Linwood Christian Church, Kansas City, Mo. Topic, "Constructive Policies Toward War and Crime."

Summer Conferences will be held at Taylor Hall, Racine, Wisconsin, August 1st to 14th, and Estes Park, Colorado, August 19th to 31st. The content of the discussions will vary in each, but the general themes are, "The Relation of the Individual to the Group" and "The Struggle for Power."

Inquiries and registrations should be sent to Amy Blanche Greene, Fellowship of Reconciliation, 383 Bible House, New York City.

The Conference of Social Work

THE fifty-fifth annual meeting of the National Conference of Social Work will be held at the Municipal Auditorium, Memphis, Tenn., May 2-9. The Conference will divide into twelve divisions, in which 196 meetings are planned.

The American Seminar, 1928

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The Last Page

SHADES of Columbus! Who said the spirit of adventure was dead? Nothing has so struck my fancy for years as the courage of Mr. Wilbur Voliva, late of Zion City, but now bound for the edge of the world—the edge, or rim, or periphery, or what you'd rather call it. You see, in Mr. Voliva's conception of creation, the Almighty built the earth and then retired to heaven and left it flat.

Mr. Voliva's zest for the Great Open Spaces is going to be gratified in part by a journey through Spain, Portugal, North Africa, Palestine, Egypt, Italy, Germany, France, and England. I do hope Mr. Voliva's boat doesn't sail too near the the rim or his train go too fast around any curves. We need him on this mundane—I almost said sphere. (In fact, I did say sphere; but don't tell Mr. Voliva.) What would we do without someone to keep alive the tried and true traditions?

"Poverty is a disgrace," said the prophet of Zion (City) on his way through New York, explaining that he is worth almost $7,000,000. I hope he realizes how many Americans are fully conscious of their shame.

Well, I possess some unusual attainments, too, I'll tell him that. I can stand with my back to a piano and play "Home Sweet Home" as fast as Babe Ruth can do it on the diamond. I think that the inability to play "Home Sweet Home" backwards is a disgrace, don't you?

Also, according to Mr. Voliva, this world can dwell in sin for only seven years more. This, it seems to me, is unwise to tell sinners; they are going at it too fast, even as it is. The prosperous prophet is probably correct. He bases his calculations on the structure of the great pyramid of Gizeh. Now, I am no prophet, but I can tell by the way a lot of geezers are built how long they have to last.

* * * * *

THE inventiveness of man is beyond all calculation; but his shortsightedness in applying his devices is appalling. The American Telephone and Telegraph Company has a new process for scrambling and unscrambling speech. Let no one sarcastically remark that this is nothing new; for new it is despite the existing telephone machinery.

You hiss or whistle into the new contraption and out comes a bellow. A treble note becomes deep bass and vice versa.

At the New York demonstration an engineer uttered the syllables "play-a-feen crink-a-nope" and they came back "telephone company." "Doughnut" became "Bennett." "Chicago" was transformed to "Si-kay-be."

Of what use is the darned thing? Nobody knows, exactly, but the engineers expect it to have military value, in developing a method of communicating messages which an enemy couldn't possibly unscramble.

Why, however, wait for a war? The quadrennial hunkerjunk technically known as a presidential election is on us. Let's go!

* * * * *

What a blessing such a speech-transformer would be to certain politically minded gentlemen!

When somebody next asks the Republican candidates how they stand on prohibition, Mr. Hoover might answer, unequivocally, "Blah-drat-Borer" which, being translated, comes forth in subtle whispers, "Vote for Hoover." Mr. Curtis' stand on foreign relations, "Pray-boos-Tcharly," cries loudly to the public, "See if I care." Mr. Lowden on superpower removes a piece of grass from his mouth and hollers bassly, "Hed-start," which emanates from the word-scrambler as "I'll say *who*." And so on down the line. Not that this would be much of an improvement over the present situation. Yet it might clarify things a trifle.

At any rate, Mr. Coolidge would take to it. Tell him a thing is next to nothing and you've given it a splendid recommendation.

And for him it *would* be next to nothing. If any machine exists that will take his speeches and unscramble 'em to mean something definite, I'd like to see it.

But I'll bet Coolidge wouldn't.

Mr. Will Hays, however, could answer "$75,000" when asked about Harry F. Sinclair's contribution to the Republican Party, and the contrivance, even four years later, wouldn't have to repeat (as Hays did) "$260,000."

* * * * *

A prominent cigar company has also worked out an idea. The president of it is a great friend of France, and he plans to acquaint the best smokers of the United States with the glories of the land across the sea by putting charming colored views of French scenes on all his company's cigar boxes.

Why don't the political bosses grasp at this idea also? Al's friends could plaster views of Tammany Hall on every cake of soap and every disinfectant sold in the country. Mr. Dawes' enthusiasts might supply lovely lithographs of Hell-and-Maria's pipe to all the purveyors of megaphones. Mr. Coolidge's Havana speech to the effect that we never intervene in other countries would go well on the border of every map of Nicaragua.

And it will be all right with me if Mr. Hoover's monogram is stamped on every lemon sold between now and November.

* * * * *

The President has warned Congress that economy will be necessary if the country is to have a tax cut. There are many bills, he told Mr. Madden of the House Appropriations Committee, "not included in the budget estimates, such as the flood control measure (according to the *Times*) and others for additional pensions. The retirement of military officers and farm relief, provided for liberally by Congress, would destroy all hopes for tax reduction."

Well, Mr. Coolidge, why didn't you think of that when you proposed to spend $800,000,000 in five years for a 71-ship naval increase? Why not save the $274,000,000 you expect to spend now for ships?

And, as for me, go ahead and retire military officers as fast as you can. I'll forego my tax cut cheerfully. Keep on going till you have retired the whole army and navy and Navy and War Departments. It would be cheap at half the price.

* * * * *

Not that I am anything less than an eat-'em-alive nationalist. I've even come to believe in the thrice-daily salute to the flag. Provided, however, it is worded to suit our most vociferous superpatriots. The way, for instance, it was given by a little boy who came home from his first day at school and reported it to his parents:

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Saint Paul once went on a journey and left his cloke behind. From which the author points out that it is good for even a saint to get a bit careless now and then! This has also excellent counsel to Convention delegates.

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Words and pictures about the Sacramento Association and some of its moving spirits, and perhaps a bit about the beauties of California, including the climate! (But not too much.)

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By ALBERT PERRY BRIGHAM
A noted geographer tells how geography helped make us what we are today. "I won't make it bony with details," says the author, "but I'll try to give the transcontinental folks some of the things the railroad promoters don't know about." Mr. Brigham will be one of the chief speakers at Sacramento.

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